

Cover Art

"DeMaris Hot Springs, near Cody" -- This postcard scene from early in this century shows several visitors enjoying the warm waters of the spring along the banks of the Shoshone River, west of Cody. Photo courtesy of the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

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Wyoming HISTORY JOURNAL

The Blizzard of 1949 in Weston County

By Lucille Dumbrill and Earl Christensen

The blizzard is legendary among great storms in Wyoming history. Lucille Dunbrid and Earl Christensen d impact the storm had on Weston County.

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4

Fired by Conscience: The Black 14 Incident at the University of Wyoming and Black Protest in the Western Athletic Conference, 1968-1970

By Clifford A. Bullock

The University of Wyoming football team had gained substantial recognition in the decade of 1960s for success on the football field. The "Black 14" incident brought a change in team fortunes as well as negative national attention.

The Church of the Good Shepherd in Sundance: The Record of Its First Decade By Mary Jean Wilson

During the territorial period and early statehood years, churches were established in many Wyoming communities. In each case, they were made possible by substantial efforts expended by local citizens as well as church officials from other communities. The Sundance church is one example of the cooperative efforts.

Simon Durlacher, The Clothing Prince of Laramie By Amy M. Lawrence

Little evidence remains of the Civil War veteran who became one of Laramie's pioneer merchants. His story reveals some of the connections between business enterprises and civic activities in early-day Laramie.

"To Me, History Will Always Be People and Their Memories": A Biography of Agnes Wright Spring

By Fran Springer

Agnes Wright Spring had a long career in history, both in Wyoming and Colorado. She served as state historian in both states. Fran Springer records her long career of service to both states.

Book Reviews Reviews of recent and significant books about Wyoming and Western history. 37

Recent Articles about Wyoming 47

Ron Diener has compiled this listing of significant articles from journals, magazines and newspapers featuring Wyoming history subjects.

Wyoming History Journal is published by the Wyoming State Historical Society in cooperation with the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, and the Department of History, University of Wyoming. The journal was formerly known as the Quarterly Bulletin (1923-25), Annals of Wyoming (1925-1993) and Wyoming Annals (1993-1995). The journal has been the official publication of the Wyoming State Historical Society since 1953. The Co-Editors of Wyoming History Journal welcome manuscripts on every aspect of Wyoming and Western history. Authors should submit manuscripts on diskettes utilizing Word Perfect. Microsoft Word or ASCII text, and two copies double-spaced hard copy to: Wyoming History Journal, P. O. Box 4256, University Station, Laramie, WY 82071. Manuscripts should conform to A Manual of Style (University of Chicago Press). Authors are responsible for the interpretation in their articles. Manuscripts are referred by members of the Board of Editors and others. The co-editors make decisions regarding publication. For information about reprints and Journal back issues, contact the editors.

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The Pslizzard of 1949 in Weston County

By Lucille Dumbrill and Earl Christensen

The blizzard of 1949 continued for three straight days. It began on Sunday, January 2, and raged continuously until Tuesday night, January 4. According to the report in the *Newcastle News Letter Journal*, "only a reasonable amount of snow fell but with the high winds over the entire area visibility was null and the drifting of snow was extremely bad."

Earl Christensen and other ranchers in the area were completely snowbound and could not get any farther away from the house than to care for the livestock in the barns. They worried a lot, and with good reason, about the fate of the livestock out in the storm. The blizzard covered the state of Wyoming, but due to slightly different circumstances, different areas suffered in various ways.

As is often the situation, the city of Newcastle suffered very little because of the storm. However, the community was completely isolated for several days and even though local businesses remained open, grocery stores sold out of such items as milk, butter, and some meat items. The local bakery, owned and operated by Steve and Dorothy Accola, provided bread for the entire community as well as for Osage, Red Butte, Prairie Store, and the Mountain Inn during the entire emergency. This was particularly difficult since the yeast supply for the bakery customarily came in twice weekly from Rapid City, South Dakota. Since the yeast did not arrive, the bakery made bread by juggling formulas and, thus, using less yeast as well as using small cakes and packages of yeast from the grocery stores. According to the News Letter Journal, the bakers unwrapped eighty dozen small cakes of yeast during one night in order to make the ten oven loads of bread needed to meet the demand.2

The blizzard drastically affected train service. The last mail train came into Newcastle on Sunday evening, January 2. The last train out until after the storm was No. 42 Sunday evening. Monday noon, the local freight train came into Newcastle from Edgemont and was stranded in the local yards for several days. The east-bound local freight was stalled at Upton on Sunday evening. Mail service finally was restored Tuesday, Janu-

ary 11, when No. 42 from the west arrived at about 7 p.m., and train No. 43 came in about one hour later.³ Clearing the tracks was an extremely difficult task, took much time, and had to be done again and again as the wind drifted the snow back onto the tracks.

The aftermath of the storm was in some ways more challenging than the worst part of the blizzard. In the few days following the most severe snowfall, ranchers tried to assess the damage and cope with the results. They tried to save as many livestock as possible, replenish depleted supplies, and get members of their families to the various communities for medical or other needed services.

The situation was not critical in the Four Corners area. Ranchers there still had horses and sleds which were much more useful in deep snow than the two-wheel drive vehicles or even the four-wheel drive jeeps owned by ranchers in the west country and the Clareton area. According to Earl Christensen, drifts were twelve to fifteen feet high on his ranch. Travel was mostly accomplished by following the ridges which were windswept and mostly free of snow. Most of the cattle on the Christensen ranch survived, however. They were familiar with the landscape and knew where to go for protection from the wind and snow. According to Jean Sherwin Sears, their ranch lost no cattle for the same reason.

Other ranchers were not as fortunate. Christy Smith, who had just moved his cattle to the south ranch from the prairie area north of Newcastle for winter grazing, lost about one hundred head. According to the *News Letter Journal*, losses in other parts of Wyoming were greater than they had been in Weston County. In Niobrara County, livestock losses were estimated at about four percent with the area around Van Tassell hardest hit. Losses there were from fifteen to twenty percent of some herds.⁴

The after-effects of the storm, with temperatures

¹ Newcastle News Letter Journal, January 6, 1949.

² Journal, January 13, 1949.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Journal, March 3, 1949.

plummeting to forty degrees below zero, took a serious toll on livestock in Campbell County. These figures were reported by Louis Schilt, of the Wyoming agricultural extension service. The *News Letter Journal* listed estimated cattle losses in Weston County at that time on the basis of figures from individual ranchers. The estimates included more than five hundred cattle, including calves, and more than six hundred sheep.⁵

The cattle died after they moved along the fence lines and then piled up in the corners. Covered with snow, they suffocated under the drifts. Others died from the extreme cold. Icicles froze over their noses and eyes, keeping them from seeing. Earl Christensen reports seeing dead cattle the entire way from Upton to the Cheyenne River.

The losses would have been even greater were it not for the numerous groups and individuals who helped the stricken ranchers. It was a week before many ranchers could get out and get feed for the livestock. A trainload of hay was brought into Newcastle in box cars. The ranchers went to town in caravans so that they could help each other get through the drifts. The National Guard helped with "cats" and rotary plows. The oil companies also had equipment which was utilized to open roads and get to ranches. The U. S. Army Corps of Engineers conducted "Operation Snowbound" and manned a sub-area office in the Weston County Court House. The front page of the News Letter Journal reported, that "Continued snow, cold weather and ground blizzards have hampered opening of roads in Weston County within the last week...roads previously opened are now closed."6

The problems continued for ranchers many weeks after the original snow. The same issue of the *Journal* reported that "Much of the hay that comes into Weston County has been trucked in from South Dakota. Truckers have had a very difficult time in getting through on the highways because of the drifting snow...a convoy system has been used, in which trucks loaded with hay and other needed ranch supplies follow bulldozers when opening up the roads."

The army operations ended in the county on Wednesday evening, February 23, more than six weeks after the onset of the storm. The *News Letter Journal* listed the equipment used to keep the roads open in the county during the emergency. "Equipment used in opening the snow in Weston county has included eleven bulldozers, four patrols, one Laternal dozer and three rotary plows. Two of the rotary plows were sent in from Yellowstone Park and Estes Park...A rotary plow belonging to the Wyoming National Guard has been used in the Upton vicinity ...companies [help by keeping] the roads open

to their drilling operations." Earl Christensen remembers various oil companies had many pieces of equipment that were utilized to help keep roads open.

The ranchers also aided the oil field workers and rode horses to check on the "dog houses" and well locations to be sure that no workers were stranded in the country without supplies. Local pilots were called into service and, according to Earl Christensen, this was the first time he could remember that aircraft were used in an emergency in Weston County. He remembered that Clyde Ice was at the Newcastle airport and that he airdropped needed medicine to stranded families. Christy Smith had a small plane with skis and used it to help. So did Peter Smith and Gus Sherwin. Christy Smith dropped a set of chains for a car to one rancher. The chain landed fine, but there "wasn't much left of the sack," Earl Christensen said. Christy also dropped mail. The drop was so accurate at the Ben Morris ranch that one of the two mail sacks rolled up against the side of the house.

The remains of the cattle which perished in the storm did not go entirely to waste as crews came out to the ranches and skinned them. The hides were sold to commercial firms.

John C. Christensen had just been elected to the Weston County Commission in the November, 1948, election. He took charge of the emergency operations for the county soon after Joe Watt, commission chairman, rode a horse into Moorcroft and from there telephoned, informing Christensen of his appointment to the job. The county relief board was composed of Christensen, Wyoming Highway Department project engineer H. J. Mitchell, county agent Garth Percival, and Red Cross representative Jennie Kirkwood.

Few country homes had telephones in those days and the few that did had no service because many of the lines blew down. The county relief board took on the job of keeping people informed about the conditions throughout the county. Operations directed by this and other government agencies brought relief to the people and livestock keeping the losses to a minimum in Weston County.

Co-author Lucille Dumbrill is a former president of the Wyoming State Historical Society. She is presently completing a biography of Wyoming's first woman lawyer. Weston County rancher Earl Christensen served in the Wyoming State Senate for 24 years.

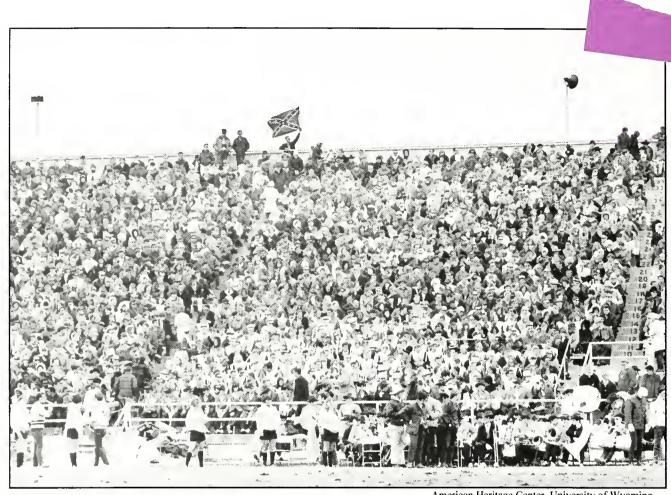
⁵Journal, January 13, 1949.

⁶ Journal, February 17, 1949

⁷ Ibid.

⁸Journal, February 23, 1949.

Fired By Conscience



War Memorial Stadium, student (east) stands, Oct. 18, 1969

American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

The 'Black 14' Incident at the University of Wyoming and Black Protest in the Western Athletic Conference, 1968-1970

By Clifford A. Bullock

The decade of the 1960s was a time of great change in the United States. The apathy, conformity, and often unquestioned platitudes of the 1950s disappeared in angry waves of activism, confrontation, and protests. The issues involved the role of the student in large universities, free speech, racial equality, and opposition to the expanding military involvement in Southeast Asia. Questions concerning these issues were raised throughout the country and, in 1969, rocked the campus at the University of Wyoming.

With increasing incidents of sit-ins, campus takeovers, marches, and demonstrations, much of the public yearned for the tranquillity and stability of the 1950s. Opportunistic political figures on a local, state, and national level expounded a solution to the problems of protest utilizing key words such as "discipline," "order," and "law." Part of the solution to societal unrest was a concerted effort by local, state, and university leadership to form plans to prevent or mitigate protests.

Another facet of the "White backlash" was the plethora of conspiracy theories used to explain the protests of Blacks and students. Many leaders, such as J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and California governor Ronald Reagan, openly stated the student movement and the Black movement were directed by Communists.¹ Many others echoed their statements.²

By the mid 1960s the Black movement of the freedom riders and the theologically-based passive resistance of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was at a standstill. More militant factions battled for a leadership role in the Black march to equality. Various civil rights activists sought new tools in the struggle against institutionalized racism.

Blacks utilized athletics as one of their most effective forums. Dr. Harry Edwards of San Jose State College in California led national efforts, such as the proposed boycotts of the 1967 New York City Athletic Club's track meet and the 1968 Olympic games. These incidents drew international attention to the struggle of the Black athlete and inspired many collegiate athletes to utilize the tools of walkouts and boycotts. The

vivid image of the raised, black-gloved hands and bowed heads of Tommie Smith and John Carlos on the winners' platforms in Mexico City lifted Black awareness and inflamed White passions.³

Many of the publicized 130 actions taken by Black college athletes in 1968 centered on issues of alienation and discrimination on predominantly White campuses. They protested against unsympathetic coaches, rules against "Afro" haircuts, lack of housing for Blacks, lack of jobs for athletes wives, policies against interracial dating, lack of Black coaches and cheerleaders, and indignities suffered on and off the field at the hands of bigoted fans, opposing players, and game officials. White fans and administrators perceived many of the Blacks' complaints to be petty and inconsequential.

Beginning in the spring of 1968, a new dimension was added to the protests of the Black athlete. Blacks began a series of protests against the racial attitudes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) as represented by Brigham Young University (BYU) in the Western Athletic Conference (WAC).⁵

The LDS, (or Mormons), denied Blacks full membership. During Brigham Young's tenure as head of the church during the nineteenth century. Blacks, or anyone of "Negroid blood," were prohibited from the priesthood. This dogma denied important aspects of worship to Blacks who chose to join the church.

Much national attention had been focused on Mormon theology in 1963 because of the presidential aspirations of George Romney, a Mormon.⁷ The exclusion of Blacks from the priesthood also hindered the LDS Church's missionary efforts in emerging African nations.⁸ In the early 1960s Utah remained as the single state outside of the Deep South not to have any civil rights legislation.⁹ In spite of national attention, the scanty scriptural basis of the LDS stance, and pressure from within the Church,¹⁰ Blacks were still excluded from the priesthood.

The Mormon Church's attitude towards Blacks affected Brigham Young University and its mission within the church.¹¹ Because of the limited number of Blacks attending BYU, the school was perceived as

"The only genuine, long-range solution for what has happened lies in an attack - mounted at every level - upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know what those conditions are: ignorance, discrimination, slums, poverty, disease, not enough jobs. We should attack these conditions - not because we are frightened by conflict, but because we are fired by conscience. We should attack them because there is simply no other way to achieve a decent and orderly society in America. . ."

perpetuating segregation.¹² BYU administrators, as late as 1969, discouraged Blacks from attending the Provo, Utah, school.¹³ Blacks around the WAC began to examine BYU and LDS Church policies. Because of the emphasis that BYU placed on its intercollegiate athletic programs, Black student groups and Black athletes strategically targeted intercollegiate athletic contests with BYU.

The first such protest against BYU occurred in April, 1969, by Black track team members from the University of Texas - El Paso (UTEP).¹⁴ The Black track team members refused to participate in a meet at Provo, Utah. The UTEP protest, resulting in the dismissal of eight Black athletes, gained national notoriety because the termination of the Black athletes and the racist atmosphere at UTEP were published as part of a five-part series on race and athletics written by Jack Olsen for *Sports Illustrated*.¹⁵ Subsequent opposition to BYU and LDS beliefs surfaced at San Jose State (SJS), the University of New Mexico (UNM), and Arizona State University (ASU).¹⁶ The next protest against BYU came in the fall of 1969 at the University of Wyoming.

Many factors united at the University of Wyoming to make it significant and pivotal in the Black struggle against the policies of the LDS Church and BYU. The University of Wyoming was the only four-year school in Wyoming, and thus, its athletic teams were the center of the state's attention. Wyoming was also a neighboring state of Utah, with a sizable Mormon population of its own. Similar to many other schools in the WAC and around the country, Blacks had been brought into Wyoming to bolster the athletic programs.¹⁷ Wyoming Black athletes faced the same alienation and hostility as Blacks on predominantly White campuses around the country.

Also similar to other states was a conservative "law and order" state and university administration. Riding the coattails of the Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew rhetoric and White backlash, Governor Stanley Hathaway saw the Laramie campus as another state office over which he had control. Former University of Wyoming president William Carlson, like many other college administrators during this time, seemed to be out of his league when confronted with serious social problems. Carlson also had Republican ties, and was an ardent supporter of the athletic department. Both Hathaway and Carlson were determined that campus unrest *not* occur on the Laramie campus or elsewhere in the state.

The Wyoming football team was talented, successful, and a source of pride to the "Equality State." The team had won an unprecedented three consecutive WAC football championships and fans anticipated a

fourth. During much of the decade, the Wyoming Cowboy football team was almost always among the nation's leaders in defensive categories. Prior to the 1969 season, the team had gone to the Sun Bowl and the Sugar Bowl. The ardent Wyoming fans expected another major bowl bid. This seemed likely after the team won the first four games. Many Wyoming supporters envisioned an undefeated season while the university made plans to expand War Memorial Stadium to accommodate creased fan support.21



"The Black Ball Players Have Fought For You, Fight For Them Now!" read a placard held by an unidentified student outside the BYU-Wyoming football game, War Memorial Stadium, October 18, 1969.

American Heritage Center, UW

When strife and confrontation did come to the Laramie campus, it not only touched issues of discipline and protest against BYU, it brought up the same charges of alienation and prejudice at the University of Wyoming and the town of Laramie.

Fourteen Black football players were key to the team's success.²² The fourteen came from varied backgrounds. Sophomore safety Jerry Berry came to Wyoming from Tulsa, Oklahoma. He was majoring in statistics. Fullback Tony Gibson, a physical education major, hailed from the Berkshires of western Massachusetts. Split end John Griffin came to Wyoming from San Fernando, California. He was in his third year, also majoring in physical education. Lionel Grimes was a defensive halfback from Alliance, Ohio. A sophomore, he was majoring in business administration.

Offensive tackle Mel Hamilton, a physical education major from Boys' Town, Nebraska, was in his junior year. Hamilton had turned down a full scholarship to Cornell to follow a Boys' Town friend to the University of Wyoming. On Wyoming's 1966 Sun Bowl team, he had played starting guard. In 1969, he had returned to Wyoming after two years in the Army. Ron Hill, a split end junior college transfer from Sterling, Colorado, was a health education major in his sophomore year. Sophomore philosophy major Willie Hysaw, a flanker, had come to Laramie from Bakersfield, California. He had been the leading receiver on the Freshman team the previous year.

Jim Issac was the sole Wyoming native of the fourteen Black football players. He was a sophomore physical education major from the mining town of Hanna.²³ Earl Lee was also a physical education major. The offensive guard was a sophomore from Chattanooga, Tennessee. Don Meadows, a business administration major from Denver, Colorado, was a sophomore center.

Tony McGee was the best known of the fourteen Blacks. His quickness and speed earned him recognition as a high school athlete in Battle Creek, Michigan. He had boxed cereal for Kellogg's in the nation's breakfast food capital before coming to Wyoming. His final choices for college were Michigan State, Nebraska, and Wyoming. He chose Wyoming, his 4.5 second speed in the 40 yard dash making him Wyoming's fastest lineman.

Defensive halfback Ivie Moore from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, was in his junior year studying physical education. Joe Williams was another physical education major. The only senior among the fourteen Blacks, he was from Lufkin, Texas. He played tailback along with Ted Williams of Port Hueneme, California. Along with his White counterpart, Frosty "Freight Train" Franklin, they "... could [have made] up the best set of running backs in the history of Wyoming football." These Blacks, along with a talented group of Whites created a potent WAC football power.

Many fans and boosters in Wyoming felt the team's success was attributable to Head Football Coach Lloyd Eaton who had taken over head coaching duties when Bob Devaney left Wyoming to head the prestigious Cornhusker football program in neighboring Nebraska in 1962. Whatever might be said later about Lloyd Eaton as a coach and a person, there was no denying his team's achievements and his personal accolades. In 1966, his Cowboy team had gone 9-1 and defeated Florida State in the Sun Bowl. The 1967 Cowboys had been unbeaten. They lost a close game in the Sugar Bowl to Louisiana State. By 1969, Eaton was among the national leaders in winning percentage. Along with three WAC championships, Eaton was named as WAC Coach of the Year in 1966 and 1967. People in Wyoming feared Eaton, because of his national recognition, might leave Laramie as his predecessor had done. In the early part of 1969, Eaton was reportedly "being considered" as a leading contender for the University of Pittsburgh head coaching job.25 Some observers have speculated Eaton was granted a carte blanche with the football team by President Carlson and the Board of Trustees.26

Eaton, who had been Devaney's defensive coach, was regarded as a strict disciplinarian in the mold of Woody Hayes of Ohio State and Frank Kush of Arizona State. Eaton believed team discipline to be a critical element in generating successful teams and quality athletes.27 He believed in the traditional, military-styled discipline of authoritarian athletics even as Blacks around the country rebelled against its constraints.28 Part of Eaton's steps to establish discipline proved to be a key in the ensuing controversy. He forbade his players to be seen together in groups or to participate in any demonstration or protest. He reminded his players of this edict at every spring practice, and again in the fall. Just before the national Moratorium Day protests opposing United States involvement in Vietnam on October 15, 1969, he reminded his players again.²⁹ Despite the prevalent unrest in intercollegiate athletics, Eaton and the Wyoming programs had seen no visible signs of turmoil.

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The calm of the Laramie campus vanished as the dismissals prompted a battery of meetings involving the university president, the governor, the trustees, Willie Black, and the athletes themselves..

When strife and confrontation did come to the Laramie campus, it not only touched issues of discipline and protest against BYU, it brought up the same charges of alienation and prejudice at the University of Wyoming and the town of Laramie. This echoed Black protest throughout the WAC. The fact there were no protests to date did not signify campus life in predominantly White Wyoming was without problems for Black athletes. At least one football player had left the University because the coach had pressured athletes to enroll in easier courses.³⁰ Another player, one of the Cowboys' fourteen Black football players, left school for two years of military service when Coach Eaton opposed his marriage to a White woman.³¹ Like other schools, Wyoming's Black athletes were to charge that White players of lesser ability would play before more talented Black players. In addition, Blacks perceived they were pressured to play when injured.³²

Flynn Robinson, a Wyoming basketball player who later played in the National Basketball Association, was rumored to have carried a gun to protect himself from the "cowboy element." One incident, described by writer James Michener in *Sports in America*, occurred when the brothers of a White female student, befriended by a Black, tried to organize a "posse" to run the offending party out of Laramie. Black players endured racial slurs around the campus, in Laramie, and on the football field. Whatever grievances the Wyoming Blacks had were not publicly acknowledged as the team remained unbeaten and bowl-bound.

On Moratorium Day, October 15, 1969, the newly-formed Black Student Alliance of the University of Wyoming, led by Willie Black, a Ph.D. candidate in mathematics, delivered a letter to university officials. The letter referred to the racial policies of the LDS Church and BYU. Included was a suggestion that players and students protest against BYU during the game scheduled in Laramie on October 18, 1969. Coach Eaton warned his Black players separately of the team rule regarding such protests.

Despite their coach's warning, the Black players met and decided they wanted to discuss with their coach what they felt to be a matter of conscience.³⁶ On the snowy morning of October 17, 1969, they walked to the athletic complex. They were in street clothes and wore black armbands to show Coach Eaton how they might protest. The coach requested that the group be

seated in the bleachers at the fieldhouse. In the presence of two assistant coaches, Eaton called the Blacks "rabble-rousers" who could no longer be supported by taxpayer money. He told them they could go back on "Negro relief." Repeatedly he told the athletes to "shut up" and suggested that if they had not come to Wyoming, "they would be out on the streets hustling." Eaton then revoked their scholarships and dismissed them from the team.

The calm of the Laramie campus vanished as the dismissals prompted a battery of meetings involving the university president, the governor, the trustees, Willie Black, and the athletes themselves.³⁸ The governor, the trustees, and the president, after meeting until 2:30 a.m., allowed the Blacks to remain in school with the possibility of financial aid after the fall semester. This action did not please the Black athletes or some other campus groups.

The Student Senate was the first group to decry the arbitrary dismissals. In a vote of 17-1, it issued a statement condemning Eaton's actions. Its resolution called for a forum to discuss the rights of athletes as students. The senate also threatened to withhold student money from the athletic department.

During the BYU game, pickets marched outside the stadium and the Black athletes were booed by the crowd when they took seats in the student section. During the game, a large Confederate flag was displayed by a student at the top of the bleacher area. While the under-manned Cowboy team pounded BYU 40-7, the crowd chanted cheers for Eaton, confirming observers' feelings that Eaton was more popular than both President Carlson and Governor Hathaway.³⁹

As a new week started on campus, there were few signs that anything had changed. Sunday's open meeting of the Faculty Senate had resulted in a watered-down call for an ad hoc committee to investigate.⁴⁰ Still, many students and faculty attended meetings and began petitions supporting the fourteen student-athletes and calling for a reversal of the dismissals. The groups disagreeing with the stance of the governor and the trustees focused on the issues of students' rights, academic freedom, the power of the athletic department, and free expression.

As the student and faculty groups sought to challenge the dismissals, the demise of the Black athletes began to garner support around the WAC and around the country. The success of the football team and program guaranteed national exposure, evidenced by the arrival in Laramie of ABC, CBS, and NBC film crews.⁴¹ On October 23, 1969, President Carlson and Coach Eaton held a press conference and announced an immediate change in Eaton's rule regarding protests. This policy change would not affect, however, the Blacks already dismissed. It was at this press conference that *Sports Illustrated* reported that President Carlson admitted that at Wyoming, football was more important than civil rights.⁴² After making the statement, President Carlson hastily ended the press conference.

Actions by Black and White groups around the WAC now focused on Wyoming as well as BYU. Students at San Jose State sought to boycott Wyoming's Homecoming game the following Saturday. A team vote opted for participating in the game, but all the players would wear multi-colored armbands protesting all racism and the dismissals of the Blacks at Wyoming.⁴³ It was during this game that a small private plane flew over the stadium trailing a banner that read "Yeah Eaton."⁴⁴ Many in the crowd wore armbands bearing Eaton's name.⁴⁵

WAC Commissioner Wiles Hallock tried to save

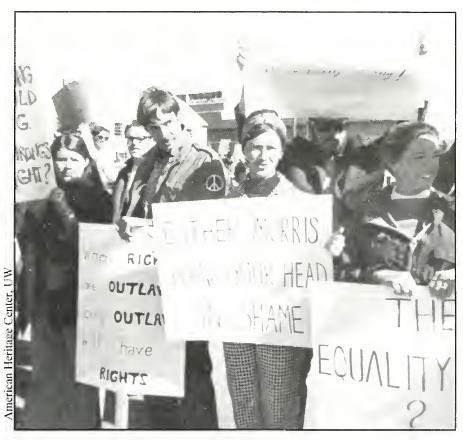
the embattled conference from disintegrating. WAC officials called a conference at the beginning of November in Denver. There, Hallock issued a statement raising the specter of a national Black conspiracy. Hallock, Coach Eaton, the NCAA, and administrators at Wyoming believed that Wyoming's nationally respected program, Eaton's policy of discipline, and the lack of previous racial disturbances had made Wyoming an obvious target.⁴⁶

The WAC meetings adjourned when Black activists walked into the closed-door meetings wearing black armbands with the numerals "14" on them as tribute to the Wyoming Black athletes. These bands became a common sight around the WAC during contests with BYU and the University of Wyoming.

The issue of Blacks, the Mormon Church, and BYU reached

beyond the limits of the WAC when Stanford University announced that due to the LDS' racial policy, it would no longer participate in any future intercollegiate activities with BYU. President Kenneth S. Pitzer's statement prompted further activism throughout the WAC to end competition with BYU despite efforts of the LDS Church and BYU apologists to defend their church and university.

At UTEP, activists passed out leaflets condemning BYU. Police were called to quell violence in the stands during the BYU-Arizona State (ASU) game.47 At Colorado State University (CSU), the Black Student Association presented the university president with a list of demands in support of Wyoming's Black athletes.48 In Tucson, the University of Arizona student senate voiced support for the "Wyoming fourteen." In Tempe, the ASU Black student group attacked both Lloyd Eaton and ASU's football coach Frank Kush. Kush had supported Eaton's actions, as had Paul "Bear" Bryant at the University of Alabama.⁴⁰ At the University of New Mexico (UNM), the student senate demanded disassociation from BYU. The New Mexico Civil Liberties Union suggested that UNM withdraw from the WAC and called on school officials to pres-



Unidentified University of Wyoming students hold placards supporting "Black 14," outside War Memorial Stadium, October 18, 1969.

". . . if you think your civil or constitutional rights are more important to you than an education, then you should go home." – UW Track Coach John Walker to the Black members of the Cowboy track team, October 1969 (All four left UW)

sure Wyoming to reverse its action.⁵⁰ Prior to the New Mexico-Wyoming game in Albuquerque, on November 15, 1969, students demonstrated outside the stadium questioning whether the Wyoming Blacks had been "Lynched Again?" The CSU international student group passed a resolution supporting the reinstatement of the Wyoming athletes and condemning Mormon racial policy. At Utah State University, the Black student group demanded a student censure of BYU and a demonstration at the BYU-Utah State game.

Basketball season began with no let-up in the protests. During the University of Arizona-BYU game in Tucson, on January 8, 1970, a "near riot" occurred when police fought with anti-BYU demonstrators.52 A wrestling competition was the scene of another anti-BYU protest at Colorado State College (now the University of Northern Colorado), in Greeley. Later in the month, the CSU (Fort Collins) student government voted to end the school's athletic relationship with BYU. At the beginning of February, the CSU-BYU basketball game in Fort Collins was disrupted when Blacks marched onto the court. Police in riot gear clashed with the activists. A photographer from The Rocky Mountain News was struck unconscious and in need of stitches. Seven people were arrested.⁵³ Two days later, at the Wyoming-BYU game in Laramie, a strong police presence insured order. At the end of February, the WAC basketball game between New Mexico and BYU in Albuquerque bred still more violence. Even prior to the game, bricks painted with "BYU" were thrown through the windows of homes occupied by university officials.54 The game itself was delayed 45 minutes after debris, including balloons filled with kerosene, was thrown onto the court.

By this point, the fourteen Wyoming Blacks, with the assistance of NAACP attorney William Waterman, and later the ACLU, filed a \$1.1 million lawsuit against the University of Wyoming and Coach Eaton in United States District Court in Cheyenne. The suit was based on the 1st and 14th Amendments to the United States Constitution and the recent Supreme Court of the United States decision of *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District.* This case permitted the wearing of black armbands in a secondary school setting as a protest against the Vietnam War. The State of Wyoming's Attorney General, representing Eaton and

the university, claimed the fourteen Blacks were employees of the State of Wyoming, and a protest on the athletic field would have violated the State of Wyoming and the U. S. Constitutions' demand for the separation of church and state. Judge Ewing T. Kerr, the United States District Court judge, ruled in favor of the University of Wyoming. The decision was upheld on appeal and no move was made to pursue the case to the United States Supreme Court.⁵⁶

As the litigation process took its course, schools around the West continued their demonstrations against BYU. Violence and disruption accompanied many of these protests. Contests with BYU necessitated additional security and sometimes even activation of National Guard units.⁵⁷ The BYU protests also spread to the University of Washington campus in Seattle. There, more militant student groups occupied buildings, disrupted classes, and eventually led to a Seattle police presence on campus.⁵⁸

At Wyoming, all but one of the fourteen Blacks gradually left campus. Like other schools in the WAC, the conference officials, school administrators, coaches, fans, and White players showed little sympathy or understanding of the Blacks' protest of conscience. Although the ideological basis for the Black protests was common knowledge, the protests against BYU were seen as another senseless disruption by Blacks.

During the entire period of Black athletic protests, coaches, backed by administrators and the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), were adamant in their support of tradition. This was a tradition of military discipline, patriotic displays, absolute control, and denial of individual rights accorded to other students. Little was done to address the plight of minority players.

At Wyoming, the adherence to the belief that the issue was one of "team discipline, not race," was supported by the state's media. National examination and criticism was seen as an unwarranted intrusion by outsiders who did not understand "the Cowboy way." Many people in Wyoming at the time, and to the present, blame outside agitators. They ignore the prior press coverage of the issue of Black priesthood in the LDS Church. The incident on the Laramie campus was one in a series of protests against perceived LDS racism, not a single target of Black leadership. The charges

of conspiracy and the emphasis on team discipline painted Black athletes as field hands who have become disruptive, sullen, and "uppity." Unfortunately, many of these perceptions have continued in athletics.

In spite of the adversity the fourteen Blacks encountered, ten of the fourteen graduated from college. Four of them went on to professional football careers, including Tony McGee and Tony Gibson who played for the New England Patriots.

Coach Lloyd Eaton, the popular and successful coach, perceived by many in the state to be a man of principle, won only one game the following season. The man who was granted a carte blanche to keep him at Wyoming, was abruptly promoted to a new position, away from the players, as assistant athletic director. He later joined a professional football scouting combine. The man who, at one time, was more popular than the Wyoming governor, retired to seclusion in Kuna, Idaho. Fritz Shurmur, Eaton's defensive coach, has been successful as a professional football defensive coach who has written books on defensive football. Paul Roach, the backfield coach, moved on to a position at Wisconsin. Later, he returned to the Cowboy program as athletic director and head football coach.

The University of Wyoming football team took over a decade before being able to recruit quality Black athletes and put together a winning season. Brigham Young University, despite the protests, became a dominant WAC power. The controversial policy of Black exclusion soon became a moot point. With increasing societal pressure and editorial attack, a revelation to the church's president changed Mormon doctrine. On June 1, 1978, the priesthood could now go to all men without reference to color.

Now the events of fall, 1969, can be examined with a clarity that only time can give. The time that has elapsed should put an end to the ongoing recriminations bandied about as fact. Former participants claim prescience at each twist in the unfolding saga and ramble on with anecdotal tales of self-importance. Because no one recorded information about statements, meetings, actions, and threats, time has allowed for multiple distortions of the historic record. Documentation in official files is limited. Public records have been lost as individuals have retired, limiting an accurate assessment of the incident. It is surprising in an academic community no record or journal has come to light. Such records that were invaluable in documenting the 1964 events at the Berkeley protests are conspicuously absent in Laramie.

- ¹ "Reagan Claims Chicago Violence Part of Conspiracy," *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, September 3, 1968. Reagan said a nationwide conspiracy plotted the disturbances at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago and at Berkeley. "This is a plot There is a conspiratorial side to it... I think we were up against a professional job." On February 1, 1967, in the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, J. Edgar Hoover attributed campus unrest to "communist" W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and called Students for Democratic Society (SDS) a pro-Red Chinese group.
- ² "Cleveland Riot Said 'Plotted'," Casper Star-Tribune, July 25, 1968, 1. Major General Sylvester T. Del Corso, in charge of the Ohio National Guard in Cleveland agreed with Major Carl B. Stokes that there had been FB1 information of a four-city plot. Del Corso was later involved at the Kent State University shootings. Glen Willardson, "Who Leads Campus Revolts?" The Daily Universe, May 2, 1969.
- ³ Dr. Harry Edwards was a former athlete. He was the author of *Black Students* (1970), *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* (1970), and *Sociology of Sport* (1973). He was vilified around the country as an agitator and troublemaker. He was good friends with another famous "uppity Black." National Basketball Association's perennial All-Star Bill Russell of the Boston Celtics.
- ⁴ "The Angry Black Athlete." *Newsweek* 72 (15 July 1968): 57D; Jack Olsen, "In An Alien World," *Sports Illustrated* 29 (July 15, 1968): 41; Jack Olsen, "A Shameful Story," *Sports Illustrated* 29 (July 1, 1968): 17.
- ⁵ The Western Athletic Conference was formed from the Mountain States Intercollegiate Athletic Conference, commonly known as the Skyline conference. In 1969 the WAC consisted of the University of Utah, Utah State University, the University of New Mexico, the University of Arizona, Arizona State University, the University of Wyoming, Brigham Young University, Colorado State University, and University of Texas-El Paso.
- ⁶ For more detail see Newell Bringhurst, "An Ambiguous Decision: The Implementation of Mormon Priesthood Denial for the Black Man A Reexamination," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 45-64.
- ⁷ Jeff Nye, "Memo from a Mormon: In which a troubled young man raises the question of his Church's attitude toward Negroes," *Look,* October 25, 1963, 75; *Time.* October 18, 1963, 83.
- ⁸ lbid. At this time, the Nigerian government refused resident visas to LDS missionaries from the United States because of the Church's racial policy.
- ⁹ Ibid, 256. Black leaders from Utah and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) threatened to picket the Church's semiannual conference in the fall of 1963 unless the Church denounced segregation. *Time* magazine commented that Mormons "are unsympathetic toward the Negro . . ." *Time*, October 18, 1963, 83.
- ¹⁰ William J. Whalen, *The Latter-day Saints in the Modern Day World* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), 255.

- ¹¹ In 1951, Church president designate Ernest Wilkinson espoused the need to use BYU athletics to glorify the LDS Church and to ". . . demonstrate the physical superiority" of those of a single moral standard abstaining from alcohol and tobacco." Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985). 276.
- ¹² Only one Black per year matriculated at BYU until the 1970s. Until the late 1960s only four Blacks had ever graduated from BYU.
- ¹³ Bergera and Priddis, 298. The authors describe a form letter sent to Black applicants informing them there were "no families of your race" around Provo. They were also issued a stern warning regarding the church's prohibition of interracial marriages and interracial dating.
- ¹⁴ Jack Olsen, "In An Alien World," *Sports Illustrated* 29 (July 15, 1968): 30. UTEP was formerly called Texas Western. The school shared a track rivalry with San Jose State, the school of Dr. Harry Edwards, and Olympians Tommy Smith and John Carlos, leading some to speculate that an Edwards visit to UTEP prompted the boycott. Olsen minimizes Edwards' role. Joseph Ray, *On Becoming a University* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1968), 89. The former president of UTEP merely states that the Blacks "developed an aversion" to competing against BYU.
- ¹⁵ One of the dismissed Blacks was Robert Beamon, Gold medal winner and world record setter in the long jump at the Mexico City 1968 Olympic games. His record jump was not broken until Mike Powell set a new record jump on August 30, 1992.
- ¹⁶ Robert J. Johnson. "Writer Reviews Athletic Problems," *The Prospector* (UTEP, El Paso), April 26, 1968, 7. Mike Elvitsky, "Blacks To Boycott?," *The Daily Spartan* (SJS, San Jose), November 19, 1968, 1. John Robert Muir, "Council Says Cancel BYU Football Game." *The Daily Spartan*, November 21, 1968, 1. John Apgar, "SJS Demands Cancellation," *The Daily Universe* (BYU, Provo), November 27, 1968, 1. "Lobo Student Senate Severs BYU Relations," *The Coloradon* (CSU, Fort Collins), April 6, 1969, 12. "New Mex. May Sever Relations With BYU," *The Daily Universe*, March 25, 1969, 3. Marcie Lynn Smith, "Senate Delays 'explosive' plea," *The Student Press* (ASU, Tempe), September 26, 1969, 1. Don Podesta, "BYU boycott urged," *The State Press*, October 2, 1969, 2. "ASU Demonstration Charges Racism," *The Daily Universe*, October 6, 1969, 4.
- ¹⁷ The number of Blacks on the Laramie campus is difficult to determine. The newspaper accounts refer to 29 Black varsity athletes as 20% of the Black student population. Other accounts employ the figure of 150 Blacks which merely proceeds in completing the logical arithmetical step. With the 1990-1991 Black student population set at 89, it would hardly seem logical that there would be 150 Blacks on campus in 1969. Deborah Hardy, *Wyoming University* (Laramie: University of Wyoming, 1986), 218, reports 33 Black male students and 4 Black women. This figure is probably close.
- ¹⁸ Stanley Hathaway, telephone interview with author, Cheyenne, Wyoming, November 5, 1990.
- ¹⁹ The former chairman of the radiology department at the School of Veterinary Medicine at Colorado State University, Carlson was

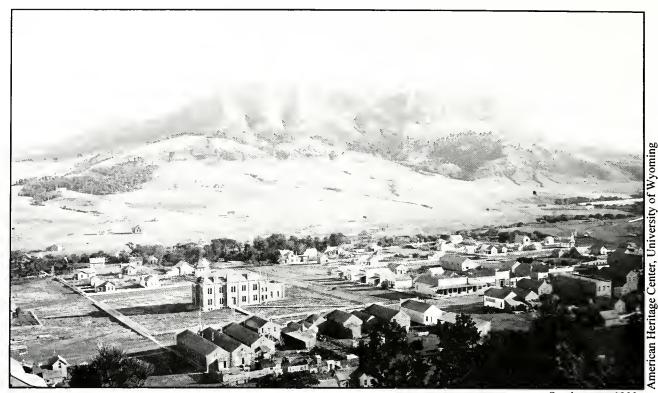
- recommended to the Wyoming search committee by Wyoming United States Senator Clifford Hansen. There was a belief that Carlson's political ties with United States Senator Gordon Allott of Colorado would serve Carlson well as a fund raiser in Republican Wyoming. Presidential Files at the University of Wyoming.
- ²⁰ Hathaway was proud to be in control of a state in which the university had not had the strife present on other state campuses. He agreed, as did many in the state, with the anonymous faculty member quoted in Wyoming University, by Dr. Hardy, p. 214, that "outside people could have a very bad effect on our basically sound students." During the summer of 1969, Hathaway sent President Carlson newspaper articles detailing what other universities were doing to prepare for the fall onslaught of campus radicalism (from the presidential files of the University of Wyoming). Legal advisor to the Board of Trustees, Joseph Geraud, prepared materials, outlining campus procedures in the event of campus disorders. These materials were presented to the Board of Trustees of the University of Wyoming in October of 1968 (from the Minutes of the University of Wyoming Board of Trustees). Carlson was quoted as saying, "If we have any trouble it will be brought in from outside by subversive elements." Robert Betts, "Wyoming Busy Leaming, Not Demonstrating," Laramie Daily Boomerang, September 13, 1968, 22. The Wyoming press lauded Governor Hathaway for his tough stance on "hippies" and unwanted elements coming into Wyoming. Thomas Hough, "File of Anti-Hippie Letters Keeps Pace With Those of Pacifist Side," Laramie Daily Boomerang, July 6, 1968, 15. "The reputation for firmness in dealing with disorders is the best insurance against a situation getting out of hand." Editorial, "Riot Insurance," Casper Star-Tribune, July 12, 1968, 4.
- ²¹ "UW Stadium to Expand by Fall of '70," *Casper Star-Tribune*, October 14, 1969, 9.
- ²² Jerry Berry, Tony Gibson, John Griffin, Lionel Grimes, Mel Hamilton, Ron Hill, Willie Hysaw, Jim Isaac, Earl Lee, Don Meadows, Tony McGee, Ivie Moore, Ted Williams, and Joe Williams.
- ²³ Another Black from Hanna, Wyoming, was Marquette Frye. In 1957, the Frye family had moved to Los Angeles, California, because of a downturn in the Wyoming coal mining industry. Marquette gained attention as one of two Blacks harassed by the Los Angeles Police. The attempted arrest of Frye was seen as the trigger of the 1965 Watts riots. Robert Conot, *Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness* (New York, Bantam Books, 1967), 3-29.
- ²⁴ Doug Reeves, "From the Sidelines," *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, October 14, 1969.
- ²⁵ "Pitt Considering Wyoming Grid Coach Lloyd Eaton," *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), January 20, 1969, 62. "Eaton 'Quietly' Visits Pittsburgh Campus," *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), January 22, 1969, 56. The Wyoming papers did not report this story.
- ²⁶ Hardy , 218. Interview with Tony McGee, Centerville, Virginia, November 12, 1990.
- ²⁷ Interview with Hakeem Wilson, Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 5, 1990. Tony McGee interview. Interview with William Young, former Director of Sports Information at the University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming, March 26, 1991. According to Paul Roach, Eaton's offensive backfield coach and former head

football coach and athletic directer, "Lloyd is a taskmaster, a fundamentalist and a strong man," Quoted in "UW Assistant Coach Receives Other Offer," *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, January 3, 1970.

- ²⁸ John Underwood, "The Desperate Coach," *Sports Illustrated* 31 (September 8, 1969). 37.
- ²⁹ Carl Skiff, "Showdown at Laramie," *Empire Magazine* of *The Denver Post*, November 2, 1969, 30. Steve Luhm, "A Decade Ago: Dissention, Drama and Decision at Wyoming," *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, October 20, 1979, 1.
- ³⁰ Wilson interview.
- ³¹ Interview with Melvin Hamilton, Casper, Wyoming, December 8, 1990. "Mel's Not Rusty Now Despite That Layoff," *Wyoming State Tribune* (Cheyenne), October 8, 1969, 30. Hamilton intended to go to Colorado State University (CSU) in Fort Collins, Colorado, but he did not because he would have lost credits, and he had had a "taste of success" in the Wyoming program.
- ³² McGee interview. Also reported in numerous newspaper accounts after "the incident."
- ³³ Wilson interview.
- ³⁴ James A. Michener, *Sports in America* (New York: Random House, 1976), p. 161.
- ³⁵ Hardy, 218. Wilson interview. McGee interview.
- ³⁶ McGee interview.
- ³⁷ Hamilton interview. McGee interview. Also, newpaper accounts and the time and reports of court testimony.
- ³⁸ Also present was BSA faculty adviser Roger Daniels, who had been the first to notify Carlson of the situation. Interview with Joseph Geraud, former legal adviser to President Carlson, Laramie, Wyoming, February 14, 1991. Young interview. Interview with Willie Black, Chicago, Illinois, April 4, 1991. Hathaway interview.
- ³⁹ Pat Putnam, "No Defeats, Loads of Trouble," *Sports Illustrated* (November 3, 1969), 27.
- ⁴⁰ lbid. "Faculty Senate Seeks Query," *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, October 21, 1969. Presidential Files of the University of Wyoming.
- ⁴¹ Many student newspapers and major dailies covered the story including *Christian Science Monitor*, New York Times, San Francisco Chronicle, Seattle Times, Washington Post, and Sporting News.
- 42 Putnam, 27.
- ⁴³ Many newspaper accounts and a photograph appeared in *Life* magazine, "Armbands Against Wyoming," (November 14, 1969), 27.

- ⁴⁴ Interview with Dr. James Hook, education professor at the University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming, March 14, 1991. Also, newspaper accounts. "Cowboy Homecoming Has Pro-Eaton Air," *Casper Star Tribune*, October 26, 1969.
- 45 lbid
- ⁴⁶ Putnam. 27. Geraud interview. Hathaway interview. *NCAA News*, (December 1969), 2-3.
- ⁴⁷ "Black student group will boycott game," *The Prospector* (UTEP, El Paso), October 24, 1969, 1. Robert Zuck, "Violence Mars Football Game," *The Prospector*, October 28, 1969, 1.
- ⁴⁸ "CSU Students Demand Support For Poke Blacks," *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), October 22, 1969, 47.
- ⁴⁹ "ASUA supports Wyoming 14," *The Prospector*. November 4, 1969, 2.
- ⁵⁰ "New Mexico Lobos Asked to Study Withdrawal From WAC by UMCLU," *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, October 22, 1969, 8.
- ⁵¹ The Branding Iron (University of Wyoming, Laramie), November 21, 1969.
- ⁵² "U of A campus simmers weeks after near riot," *State Press* (ASU, Tempe). February 10, 1970, 1.
- ⁵³ "Halftime Protest Erupts: Seven People Arrested," *The Collegian* (CSU, Fort Collins), February 6, 1970, 1.
- ⁵⁴ "Flying Bricks Heighten Tension On Eve of UNM-BYU Court Battle," *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, February 28, 1970, 11. Calvin Horn, *The University in Turmoil and Transition Crises Decades* at the University of New Mexico (Albuquerque: Rocky Mountain Publishing, 1981), 35.
- ⁵⁵ 89 S. Ct. 733, 1969.
- ⁵⁶ Williams v. Eaton, 310 F. Supp. 1342 (1970). "Gridders' Names Are Off UW Suit," Laramie Daily Boomerang, June 24, 1970, 9. "Oral Arguments Set In 'Black 14' Case," Laramie Daily Boomerang, May 16, 1972, 7. Hamilton interview.
- ⁵⁷ Such was the case in Laramie in its basketball game with BYU. The National Guard was also brought into Laramie before the football game in October.
- ⁵⁸ "BYU Petition," *The Daily* (University of Wahington, Seattle). February 4, 1970, 1.

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Sundance, c. 1900

The Church of the Good Shepherd in Sundance:

The Record of Its First Decade

By Mary Jean Wilson

More than a century ago, the first Episcopal church in Sundance was formed and the building constructed. The story, told in church records and newspaper accounts, demonstrates how the persistence and dedication of church officials brought into existence churches in lightly populated areas where many held high hopes of religious success.

When the missionary district of Wyoming and Idaho was created by the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America in October, 1886, Wyoming was still a territory and Crook County had been organized just the year before.

Sundance was a thriving town by 1886. It had started as trading post established on a ranch for other ranchers in the area in 1879. According to some reports, it boasted two hotels, a post office, one or two grocery stores, two attorneys, a liquor store, a general store, a blacksmith, livery stable, carpenter shop, a newspaper and a school.

In the 1880s the Rev. Ethelbert Talbot was the rec-

tor of St. James Church in Macon, Missouri, and the headmaster of St. James Military Academy for boys. Talbot was elected the first bishop of the new missionary district of Wyoming and Idaho, much against his will. He wanted to stay where he was! He was finally consecrated in Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis, Missouri, on May 27,1887, and left for Wyoming in July.¹

The new diocese over which Bishop Talbot presided was geographically large but had few churches. One of the first tasks he had was to establish congregations. To this end he made visits to the various communities that had grown up in the territory. He was not above visiting the local saloon if that was the only place to find a congregation.²

Bishop Talbot made his first visit to Sundance sometime in 1888 and held the first Episcopal services there ¹ Rev. Ethelbert Talbot, *My People of the Plains* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1906), 2, 3.

²*Ibid.*, 5.

in the building that served as the public school. During a second visit in 1889, he held services in the Methodist Church during which he baptized several children.³ (The Methodist structure had been built the previous year). Records in the Crook County Clerk's office in Sundance show that he made a visit in May, 1889, and purchased two and one half lots on Main Street for \$25.⁴ This piece of land, "behind Adams Brothers' store," was later sold, presumably to finance construction of a church.⁵

He visited again in July, 1889, and purchased another plot of ground farther east on Main Street containing three lots for \$100. It was on this second piece of ground that the Church of the Good Shepherd was built.

On July 12, 1890, (two days after Wyoming became a state), Talbot made another visit, accompanied by the Rev. Charles E. Snavely, the new priest in charge. The next day, according to Snavely's account, "the Holy Communion was celebrated, and Evening Prayer was read by Bishop Talbot, assisted by Rev. Mr. Snavely, in the Methodist Church. One person, Miss Myrtle Hazelton, was Baptized; and two persons, Miss Hazelton and Miss Bertha Alden were Confirmed."

Church officials then turned their attention toward constructing a church building. On Sept 1, 1890, the first shovel of earth was thrown out for the foundation of the new church, on the Main Street lots. The Sundance Lodge No.9 A.F. & A.M., laid the cornerstone on Oct. 8 with the customary church services. The ceremony was described in the Sundance Gazette in an article apparently written by Rev. Snavely: "At 3 p. m. on Wednesday., October 8th, Sundance Lodge No.9 A.F. & A.M. assembled in the Lodge room on Main Street. Soon after they filed out and formed in Line, and headed by the Sundance Silver Cornet band, marched to the corner of Main and Sixth Street, where the church is in process of erection. Here they were met by the Revs. Messrs. John E. Sulger, the general missionary and archdeacon of the Diocese, and Charles E. Snavely, the Rector of the Parish. When the band had rendered a beautiful selection of music, the ceremony of laying the corner stone [was held]."7 The stone was "a beautiful block of brown marble."8 Following the laying of the stone, "the Rector then introduced the Rev. John E. Sulger, who made a very eloquent address. The Rector then made a short address, after which a collection was taken towards the furnishing of the new church, amounting to \$19.66. After this, hymn 202 was sung, prayers were read and the blessing pronounced by the Rector, and thus ended one of the most beautiful services ever witnessed in this city."9 The article concluded: "We are most grateful to the Rev. Mr. Sulger for his visit amongst us, and for the eloquent addresses he gave us. In order to come here, he postponed the laying of the corner stone of his own church." The ceremonies continued in the evening with a service in the court house. There, "the Rev. Mr. Sulger preached a very earnest forcible sermon. The singing by the church choir was a marked feature of this service, and the singing of the anthem was exceptionally fine." 11

As Snavely wrote: "It was named 'The Church of the Good Shepherd.' Addresses were made by the Rev. John E. Sulger, General Missionary of the Jurisdiction of Wyoming and Idaho; and the Rev. C. E. Snavely, Priest in Charge of Mission. An offering was taken for the Building Fund. In the evening Rev. Mr. Sulger preached at the service held in the Court House, while we were without a Church, we held services for four weeks in the Methodist Church; the rest of the time, the County Commissioners kindly placed the Court House at our disposal." Sulger was the rector of Christ Church, Newcastle. Bishop Talbot had arranged for the building of that church at the same time the Sundance church was being built.

Construction on the foundation of the new church was begun September 19, 1890, by Nefsy Brothers, a construction firm in Sundance. As Snavely reported: "The church will consist of a nave 24x36, chancel 8x14, vestry 8 ff. 9 in. x 12, and porch 5x8. The interior will be finished in gothic style, with the rafters projecting, and the spire will be 54 ft. from ground to top of cross. Nefsy Bros. are pushing the work forward as rapidly as possible, and expect to have the building completed on or before Dec. 1st." 12

³ "History of the Parish," Book B, Early Records of the Church of the Good Shepherd.

⁴tlone Williamson, "Crook County Commentaries," *Buts & Pieces* 4 ⁵ Early records of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Book A. The exact location is noted by Snavely, "History of the Parish," Book A. ⁶Ibid.

⁷The ceremonies were previewed in the *Sundance Gazette*. Sept. 26. 1890. The event was meticulously reported afterward in the Sundance newspaper. "Beautiful and Impressive Ceremonies at the New Episcopal Church Foundation," *Sundance Gazette*. October 10, 1890.

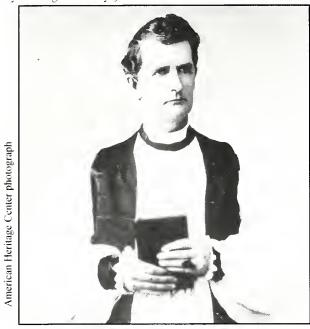
⁸Sundance Gazette, Oct. 10, 1890.

4Ibid

¹⁰*Ibid.* The article lists the contents of the box placed inside the cornerstone. Included were copies of the *Sundance Gazette*, newspapers published in Deadwood and Newcastle, the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, various religious publications, a copy of the service, the roster of the Sundance Masonic Lodge, the names of teachers and pupils of Sundance public school, the names of the mayor, city council and city clerk of Sundance, and the city ordinances.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.* Among those who worked with the Nefsy Brothers was Herman Sommers, who built the pews. Sommers used a set of handmade planes for his work which are now the property of Vera Sommers, the widow of Herman's son. George.



Ethelbert Talbot, Pioneer Episcopal Bishop

On Sunday, January 11, 1891, the new church was opened for services. Bishop Talbot officiated at the consecration of the new building. According to Snavely, "Bishop Talbot preached twice, celebrated the Holy Communion, Baptized 3 adults and 5 children and confirmed a class of six persons. The altar, carpet, organ, pews...were given by the Ladies Guild. Lectern and Prayer Desk, by Rev. Messrs. Hoffman and Hopkins. 2 imitation stained glass windows were given by St. Clement's Church Philadelphia; 2 by Mrs. Florence Skottowe; 1 by Mr. and Mrs. Thos. H. Moore; 1 by Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Harper; and 1 by Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Meeks. The chancel window was given by Mr. and Mrs. F. F. Rounds. The Communion Service was given by Grace Church Elizabeth, New Jersey." Two days later, Talbot consecrated Christ Church in Newcastle.

Bishop Talbot returned once again in June, 1891, at which time Snavely presented Edward H. Parnell as Ordered Deacon in the Church. "The Bishop celebrated the Holy Communion, baptized 3 adults, and Confirmed a Class of 8 persons. At this, Evening Service, he announced the resignation of the Priest in Charge, on account of his inability to stand the high altitude." The next day, June 29, the Bishop, assisted by the Rev. F. H. Parnell, performed the marriage ceremony of the Priest in Charge to Miss Sarah E. Williams. On the same evening, he confirmed a class of 8 at Canon Ridge Divide near Sundance." It was apparently the first wedding in the new church. Snavely and his new bride left Sundance in July, 1891, for Weiser, Idaho. He included the following statistics in his report to the congregation:

Baptisms 60 Confirmations 22

Burials 8 Marriages 2 Number of Communicants 28

During the year that Rev. Snavely was in charge, a diphtheria epidemic swept through the area. Seven of the eight burials over which he officiated were for infants or small children who died of the disease. The other burial was that of Florence Skottowe, wife of J. Coulson Skottowe and a communicant of Good Shepherd. Snavely noted that this was the first communicant to die. She died in childbirth. ¹⁵

The above mentioned record books are the earliest record books of the Church of the Good Shepherd available. Information in them is sketchy at best. Baptismal, burial and marriage records are among the most complete. There is also a listing of communicants and of families in the parish.

Rev. Snavely left few records concerning services. The first records of services held are for 1893. On July 2 of that year, services were celebrated by J. E. Sulger, and again on August 27. In the period between those services, J. C. Skottowe served as Lay Reader.¹⁶

On September 1,1893, Bishop Talbot was the celebrant, assisted by Rev. Arnold Leutton. The next listing is for 1896. On January 7, 1896, Bishop Talbot was again the celebrant, this time assisted by P. Gavan Duffy who had succeeded Snavely.

"I arrived here in company with the Lord Bishop of the Diocese on January 8, 1896, and was left in charge of the Parish. I find that in the interval between the Rev. C. Snavely's incumbency and my advent the parish was in charge of a Priest for a little over six months who was succeeded by the present Rev. Coulson Skottowe, then Reader in Charge. I preached my introductory sermons on the 1st Sunday after the Epiphany (Jany. 12), & then settled down to parochial work." Duffy found that a number of people who had been early communicants had moved from Sundance. "In Lent we made an addition to

¹³History of the Parish.

¹⁴In his history of the parish, Snavely states that there were two marriages during his stay in Sundance—his own and one other. According to the record book, he performed the second ceremony in the home of the bride.

15Book A. A listing in the baptismal record in Record Book A states that an infant child of J. C. Skottowe was baptized at his father's ranch just before the burial service was read over his mother's remains. According to that record, the child was taken to Ireland to live with his grandmother. A duplicate listing in Record Book B states that his father was going to take him to England but would not do so until he was baptized. Later records indicate the younger Skottowe returned to the Sundance area.

16Book A.

Church officials responded to local calls for church establishment and saw to it that they were served. Later priests and parishioners built on those earliest of efforts.

the place by supplying a long felt want vis: a bell which we got from the American Bell Foundry Company, Northville, Mich., for the sum of \$12.00 being exactly half the original list price. The money for the bell was raised by the children in the Sunday School as a Lenten offering and will stand for many years."

Duffy listed other accomplishments. One involved working with young people in the area. "Early in the year I organized the Girls of the Good Shepherd for young people..."

In addition to services in Sundance, Duffy also went to Sunny Divide, William's School house and Wakeman School house. "In the spring I opened a Mission Station on Sunny Divide, holding services in Hawkins' log school house & later at Wakeman's School house, Highlands (recently destroyed by fire)." He reported that the services were well attended. "On the 12th of August the Bishop went out and baptized 16 adults & children & confirmed 7 persons. The people in these districts I know felt love for the Church & I fully believe they will in time become important centers of Church life. I also held services at a Mission Station founded by the Rev. C. Snavely-William's School House, Manhattan. In February Archdeacon Ware of S. Dakota visited us & baptized 2 adults & one boy in Sundance & at the Bishop's visit in August, 14 adults and children were baptized in the Church, & a class of 7 persons confirmed, making during the Bishop's Visitations, with the country classes, a total of 30 baptisms and 14 Confirmed."

Duffy pointed out that he had visited most of the "outlying districts" within 25-30 miles of his church where he was "always well received & my ministrations always accepted readily by the people, which makes me think that Crook Co. will be won entirely in time to the Church of God." Duffy noted the following statistics from January 1896 to the Bishop's Visitation in August 1896:

Baptisms 34 Confirmations 14
Burials 1 Marriages 1
Number of Communicants 48

He added that he had "3 awaiting Holy Baptism & one Confirmation."

One of Duffy's records lists the offerings collected during his year in Sundance. Collections ranged from five cents to the \$3.20 taken in when Bishop Talbot visited.¹⁷ He also lists disbursements.

During Duffy's tenure, services alternated, morning one Sunday and evening the next. Occasionally, no collection was taken, usually because of severe weather or a congregation too small to warrant it. At other times, the collection was for some special purpose.

On February 6, 1896, the second recorded marriage in the Church of the Good Shepherd was celebrated. Just as in the case of the first wedding in the church, the groom was the priest. The Ven. Archdeacon Ware of Deadwood, South Dakota, officiated at the marriage of Duffy, listed as "age 23," and Mary Grant, 24. Although the residence for both was given as Crook County, the record also stated that Duffy came from England and his bride was from Elgin, Scotland.

After Duffy's departure the following December, there are few records in the books. One name does appear in the books: the Rt. Rev. A. R. Graves, Bishop of Laramie, who succeeded Bishop Talbot. In 1897 the pioneer bishop had been elected to the diocese of Central Pennsylvania and subsequently moved there.

In the mean time, Rev. Snavely had gone from Idaho to Nebraska to South Dakota where he served six years on the Pine Ridge Reservation. He left there May 1, 1899, and returned to Sundance to the church that he had helped form. Prior to his return, Wm. B. Wilcockson served as Lay Reader in Charge.

By the time of the last entry indicating Rev. Snavely as Priest in Charge, February 28, 1900, the Sundance church was well established. The first decade, like that experienced by other congregations in the early state-hood years, shows that church officials responded to local calls for church establishment and saw to it that they were served. Later priests and parishioners built on those earliest of efforts.

¹⁷ All Duffy quotes are from Book A.

18 Book B.

Author Mary Jean Wilson lives in Sundance. A member of Wyoming Writers since 1980, she has written features for various Wyoming newspapers, including the Casper Star-Tribune. This article is extracted from her full-length history of the Church of the Good Shepherd, now in progress.

Simon Durlacher,



The Clothing Prince of Laramie

By Amy M. Lawrence

Although the name, Simon Durlacher, is all but forgotten, the building in Laramie that once housed his clothing emporium with his name boldly sculpted on an ornate metal cornice still stands as an impressive monument to this early pioneer Jewish merchant. The building is believed to be the second oldest standing business structure in Laramie, Wyoming, and is an important part of the architectural fabric of the Laramie Downtown Historic District, which was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1988.¹ It is also a reminder of the important role that merchants played in establishing permanent townsites in the frontier west—a role that is seldom recognized by historians.

This is particularly true on the Union Pacific corridor in the 1860s where the merchant—often still housed in a tent—remained to anchor a town after the initial excitement and "boom town" prosperity of the "end of tracks" had moved westward. It was these merchants, along with doctors and other professionals, who helped to bring the new settlers back to the townsite to buy goods and settle instead of drifting on to another area. According to J. H. Triggs in *History and Directory of Laramie City, Wyoming Territory*:

A majority of our merchant princes, business men and leading mechanics, are of the first settlers, several of whom came here with a very small capital and by close attention to their business have accumulated a respectable little fortune...by lifting the veil of futurity, (they) saw that Laramie City was destined to be more than a great camp... and commenced the erection of more substantial business houses and residences.²

Simon Durlacher was one such merchant and one of the many of German Jewish heritage who sought wealth and security on the Wyoming frontier. He had come to Laramie a few weeks before the Union Pacific arrived in 1868 and by the time of his death in 1893, his family had become prominent in the social and financial structure of the fledgling city of Laramie. He was born in Schmieheim, Baden, Germany, on New Year's Eve in 1837, and came to the United States with his parents and several siblings in 1852.³ They settled in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, where Simon attended schools and "learned the

elements of business" which included clerking in a dry goods store.4

At the outbreak of the Civil War, on April 30, 1861, Durlacher enlisted as a private in the Sixth Pennsylvania Reserves, Company H. He served for more than three years until he was "severely wounded" in the left shoulder at Gettysburg and had not recovered sufficiently by the end of the war to see further action. He was discharged June 11, 1864.

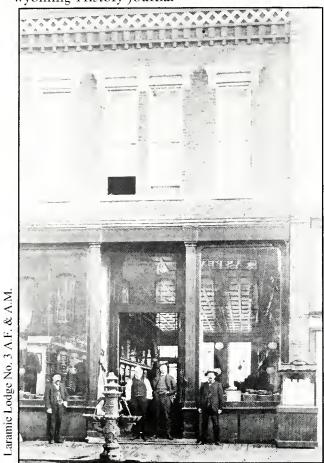
Accounts of his move to the west differ slightly, but a family biography states that upon his discharge he was "told to go west for his health, he did with a pack on his shoulders...selling things, I believe." He went first to Burlington, lowa, where he worked as a clerk at the L. Lehmann clothing store. Durlacher joined the Masonic Lodge while in Burlington. The fact that his daughter, Hilda, spent the summer in Burlington in 1899, 10 after Durlacher's death, indicates that he may have made lasting friendships there.

He moved to Cheyenne in 1867 and was employed by Ben Hellman in his dry goods store. Hellman also had set up a store in the tent city of soon-to-be Laramie¹¹ and Durlacher became manager of the Laramie store, 12 arriving in Laramie in April of 1868,13 a month before the Union Pacific tracks came on May 9.14 He also worked for a Mr. Frank.¹⁵ William Manesse was one of his fellow clerks and the two men became not only life-long friends, but business partners as well. For a short time they operated a store in a log cabin on the present location of the Durlacher building. Durlacher sold men's clothing on one side of the store and Manesse had his tobacco/jewelry counters on the other side.16 In August of 1872 the log building was razed to make way for the "Simon Durlacher and J. Manasse two-story brick building with an iron front," and on August 6 the Sentinel reports that the "brick block" was rising.17

The second story of the building housed the first Masonic Hall constructed by the Laramie lodge, which in 1870 had become the third lodge chartered in the



Second Street, Laramie



Simon Durlacher Building where the Grand Lodge of Wyoming was organized on December 15, 1874

territory. The members had been meeting in the Donellan building just across the street, but in 1872 the members voted to float bonds to finance the completion and furnishing of the second story on the Durlacher building, which was then under construction. 18 Durlacher was a dispensation member of the Laramie Lodge until 1880 when he affiliated with the local lodge, and served at various times as junior warden, master and treasurer. The Grand Lodge for the Territory was chartered in this new meeting hall in 1874, and included the four lodges that had been organized by that time: Cheyenne, chartered in 1868; South Pass, 1869; Laramie; and Evanston, 1873. 19

The impact of the Masonic and other similar fraternal organizations as a significant stabilizing factor in settling the West has never been evaluated, but it seems more than coincidence that Masonic meetings were held and Lodges were organized in many pioneer settlements soon after the townsites were occupied. The chronology of Free Masonry in Wyoming closely follows the history of the state itself. The first Masonic meeting was held along the Oregon Trail in 1862 dur-

ing the July 4 encampment of a wagon train at the base of what is now known as "Independence Rock." A group of "about twenty Masonic brethren....ascended the great rock as 'the sun set to close the day' and held an impromptu meeting of what they termed Independence Lodge No. 1." The Bible used in this meeting is currently in the collections of the Grand Lodge of Wyoming.²⁰

The frontier west was a lonely and often dangerous place where men were drawn together by the common experiences, confidentiality and help guaranteed by the Masonic pledges. These groups often formed the nucleus of community spirit and cooperation that is necessary for building a town. Many civic leaders came from the Masonic membership and the pledge of "giving assistance to brothers in distress and of aiding a worthy cause of charity," was frequently the first such public assistance in these new communities.²¹

In 1878, during one of his trips to the garment districts on the East coast to buy merchandise, Durlacher met Hannah Gross through a mutual friend and they were married in her uncle's home in Boston, October 2. Hannah was also born in Koenigheim, the Baden duchy of Germany, Dec. 24, 1853, and she had come to Boston in 1870 to live with her uncle, Isaac Gross. Immediately after their wedding the couple returned to Laramie and moved into the house Simon had bought for his bride at 501 South Fifth Street. Hanna lived in this house until her death 51 years later.

The Laramie Sentinel reported in 1878 that "Our young friend Simon Durlacher has purchased the Klingerman mansion and is refitting it for the abode of himself and bride."22 It was an 11-room, two-and-ahalf story structure and may have been the first home in Laramie constructed in a variation of the Shingle Style which had recently come into vogue on the East Coast. This rather eclectic style was especially popular in resort areas. The free flowing form was characterized by an irregular roof line created by steep pitched roofs and gables, wrap around "verandas of various shapes and sizes," generous arched windows and more spacious rooms than the English Queen Anne Style which had "spurred on" this East Coast Mode."23 The name derived from the fact that the exterior was at least partially covered with shingles—the upper stories of the Durlacher home were shingled and the lower story was brick.

According to existing photos, other outstanding features were the corner entry onto the large porch accented with carved posts and a large arched window on the west side, enhanced by a stained glass transom light and side lites. In 1888 Durlacher "excited the admiring interest of Laramie when he added some grand improvements..." to the interior of his home. These included "rich and novel wall papers and delicately tinted paints." ²⁴

The big house was built on the central hall design, with rooms to either side. The reception room is large with the stair rising to the upstairs rooms and double doors opening to the living room. Light carving decorated the newel post which held a molded figure of an armored man blowing a trumpet. This figure now stands in the Laramie Plains Museum.²⁵

The success of the Durlacher business is reflected in a remodeling of the store building in 1883.²⁶ The *Laramie Boomerang* reported:

March 10, 1883— ... Simon Durlacher is making some radical improvements in his store. He will raise the ground floor and ceiling above, add forty feet in depth, so that when completed, it will be 100 feet deep (its present size).

June 16—...Durlacher is now ready to receive and entertain the public in metropolitan quarters and style...the immense French plate glass windows cost \$160 each.

Aug. 4— Durlacher has erected a beautiful bronze drinking fountain in front of his store. It is both useful and ornamental, a shrewd stroke of business and an evidence of public spirit on Simon's part which will be appreciated by our citizens.²⁷

This fountain was slightly damaged when someone mistook it for a hitching post. The horse reared back and pulled the fountain over.²⁸ Unfortunately, the



Durlacher home under construction

fountain eventually disappeared. A final item in 1883 indicates the extent of the remodeling as well as the prosperity and community status of the owner (and/or as an advertiser):

Nov. 10—Durlacher, the Clothing Prince, last Saturday evening illuminated his mammoth Emporium for the first time with gas. The effect was immense and his \$500 plant is a success.²⁹

This building and remodeling were meant to last! The 1993 renovations by the Chickering Bookstore revealed the floor joists which are 2" x 12"'s set on a 12" center. These are the old joists and were true measurements, not the planed down versions available now.

The prosperous business also enabled Durlacher and his family to travel to Europe³⁰ as well as to the East coast.31 Contemporary newspapers report that their home was the scene of many social gatherings. They hobnobbed with the "elite" of the city, including the Edward Ivinson and Otto Gramm families. The three Durlacher daughters, Blanche Breeda, Hilda Helen and Jeanne Janet, were mentioned frequently in the social columns of the local papers.32 In 1897 Blanche, the oldest daughter, received her Normal degree from the University of Wyoming and later went to San Diego to continue her music studies. In 1899 the editor of the Boomerang announced that Miss Jean Durlacher "will have charge of the society columns and the three sisters and Mrs. Durlacher began the new century by "receiving" at their home:

The rooms of the Durlacher home were trimmed with mistletoe and holly. Afternoon tea was served the young gentlemen in the dining room. The tea was brewed at the table by one of the Misses Durlacher and refreshments served by Mrs. Durlacher.³³

Simon was elected a county commissioner (1874-1896),³⁴ and was appointed to the Penitentiary Committee by the governor in January of 1878.³⁵ He was a Democratic delegate to the party's first state convention in 1890,³⁶ and was prominent in community affairs including an active participation in the Maennerchor Hall, both a member and promoter.³⁷

As a charter member of the Custer Post of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) he was also active in the state organization serving as vice commander.³⁸ He was "much attached to the Grand Army of the Republic and preserved at home a complete record of the history of his regiment."³⁹ He and his wife also attended the Grand Army Encampment in Denver on at least one occasion.⁴⁰

Simon Durlacher died July 19, 1893. The first hint of ill health in the local papers had appeared the previous August when it was noted that he "was seized with an attack of vertigo on the street near his store and fell to the walk." Apparently his health failed rapidly after that. In January he went to Jacksonville, Florida, where he remained for three months, but his condition was not much improved when he returned to Laramie in March. According to the "bulletins" issued in the *Boomerang* his condition worsened over the next four months. The paper stated that his sickness was "caused by a complication of diseases involving both the heart and lungs." 42

The *Boomerang* had always been generous with its praises of Durlacher:

Mr. Durlacher was one of the most successful merchants who ever transacted business in Laramie. He was careful, conservative and farseeingHe was not only a successful business man but an upright citizen whose word, men have been heard to say today, was as good as his bond. He held the universal respect and esteem of all who knew him. 43

The funeral services were held at the family home under the direction of the Laramie Masonic Lodge, with Dr.J. H. Hayford as Chaplain. Pallbearers, all from the Custer Post, included Charley Reels, J. W. Connor, William Brandis, Henry Nottage, Fitch and Spalding. The paper concluded that "the cortege was one of the largest ever seen in Laramie."⁴⁴

Durlacher left his wife in "good circumstances," and in August, she wrote to the manager of Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co., Denver, thanking him for the prompt action of his company in forwarding her the first of the yearly "splendid dividend" payments due from the \$20,000 policy her husband had left her.⁴⁵

On August 20 it was noted in the newspaper that "A. M. Bauman will take management of the Durlacher Clothing Store," and on September 9 a certificate of incorporation was filed by Bauman, his wife, Fannie, and Hannah Durlacher. Mrs. Bauman was Hannah's sister and she accompanied Mrs. Durlacher on a trip to Boston three days later.⁴⁶

Bauman also had an interesting history in the Territory. He had worked for Augustus Trabing, managing the Trabing store "near Fort Fetterman." During his tenure there the store was robbed, he was beaten and a state-wide search for the culprits headlined the Territorial newspapers for several months. Bauman moved to the Laramie Trabing Store and finally opened

his own grocery business in a building adjoining the Durlacher store on the south. However, the Durlacher business apparently went downhill under Bauman's stewardship, and in 1897 the Bauman stock of goods was closed out in a replevin case. A month later a piano and organ store moved into the Bauman location and on March 17, 1898 the *Boomerang* reported that the old and well known Durlacher Clothing company announced that they are about to close out their stock of goods and retire from business. The following December the stock was sold to the Temple of Economy, another dry goods store in Laramie.

In November 10, 1909, the *Boomerang* carried the rather coy announcement that:

There is every reason to believe that cupid will hold a special session of his court at Lincoln (Nebr) tomorrow evening, uniting two well known residents of this city in marriage.

The two were indeed well known—Hannah Durlacher and Otto Gramm, who was described as "...a dominant personality in the political and economic life of Albany county and of Wyoming."50 Their marriage on the following day at the home of Hannah's daughter, Blanche (Mrs. Colt), was described as a "brilliant affair" and, after their wedding trip, the couple made their home at the Durlacher residence. The Gramm and Durlacher families had been close friends for many years. Born in Chillicothe, Ohio, Nov. 11, 1846, of German parentage, Gramm had worked as a drug clerk in his native town until he came to Laramie in 1870 to work for Dr. J. H. Finfrock, pioneer doctor and druggist. Here, he studied pharmacy and later opened the Laramie Drug Store.51 Otto's first wife was Miss Catherine Sleret of Laramie whom he married in 1870, and their only surviving daughter, Edith, died in 1905.

Gramm was involved in virtually every aspect of Laramie's economic, political and social life. Gramm had served as president of the University Board of Trustees from 1898 to 1911 and held the same position on the Laramie City School Board for more than two decades. He was elected to the position of county treasurer for six years, and was state treasurer for four years. He had also served as chairman of both the county and state Republican Committees. He was among the organizers of the Laramie Rolling Mills, was a lessee of the Wyoming State Penitentiary buildings after the penitentiary was moved to Rawlins, and vice president of the Laramie, Hahn's Peak and Pacific Railroad, (Laramie Scenic Route). In 1914 he organized the Fox Park Timber company and the Otto Lumber company,



Completed
Durlacher House.
Photo courtesy of
the Laramie Plains
Museum

and was one of the organizers of the first volunteer fire department.⁵²

On December 17, 1927, Otto Gramm, then 81, died of heart failure following at attack of influenza.⁵³ He was mayor of Laramie at that time and during his funeral "virtually every habitual activity" ceased, including the University of Wyoming, schools, banks, the post office and forestry service. President Crane delivered the eulogy at the services which were held in the University gymnasium and final exams, which had been scheduled for that time, were postponed until after the funeral.⁵⁴

Mrs. Gramm survived her second husband by only three years and the *Republican* noted that:

The passing of Mrs. Gramm removes from our midst one of the few remaining pioneer leaders of the city... She had lived in her present house 51 years, a unique record in the West. With it were associated all the notable events of her life...It was the scene of much gracious hospitality...⁵⁵

Like many historic records these accounts reveal the sterile, basic details of the lives of these Laramie pioneers, but they also leave many questions unanswered. What were these people really like? What were their dreams, their tragedies, their family life and perhaps most intriguing of all, how did these Jewish immigrants achieve not only an economic stature in the town, but earned the lasting affection and respect of their fellow citizens?

A rare personal glimpse into their family life is provided by an excellent collection of family photos, a few family papers⁵⁶ and a recent interview with Mrs. Jean Louise Husted Hager, step-great-granddaughter of the Durlachers.⁵⁷

Mrs. Durlacher often told her daughters of her early days in this frontier town. She enjoyed them all but it was a strange land for a girl from Boston... she always liked Laramie and made many lifelong friends here.⁵⁸

One of her favorite stories was about Laramie's unique water system:

At first all the water had been hauled from the river and had to be purchased and stored in barrels. Later the first water system was inaugurated. Ditches were dug from the city springs and everyone obtained all of the water they needed from the ditches. Anyone who had to be out a night always carried a lantern. Mr. Durlacher kept his store open until late at night, sometimes until 11 or 12 o'clock. Mrs. Durlacher would often walk down to the store to meet him and walk home with him. She laughingly remarked that she often fell into the water barrels and ditches in spite of the lantern she carried.⁵⁹

The East Side School was being constructed during Hannah's first winter in Laramie and she recalled that: "There was at that time a great deal of discussion and criticism of the school board because the school was so far out of town." 60

The Durlachers were frequently mentioned in the columns of Laramie newspapers noting not only periodic trips to Cheyenne and Denver, or junkets to New York or Europe; but their participation in the continuous round of social events by the local "gentry." Their spacious home was often the scene of teas, card parties, dinners and receptions. The generous hospitality of the Durlacher home is perhaps reflected in "Hannah's Pound Cake Recipe," which, with total disregard of calories or chlorestral, includes a pound of sugar, ten eggs and a pound of butter.⁶¹

One of the most gala events at the Durlacher home was the "informal" wedding of daughter, Hilda, and Neale Roach, December 6, 1905, and the account of the celebration gives another glimpse into not only the Durlacher home, but the social customs (and flowery journalism) of that day:

The wedding party (was) stationed under a bewitching canopy of smilax and magnificent yellow chrysanthemums in the drawing room. The exquisite decorations of the apartment were all in yellow and green...The bride was most becomingly gowned in her traveling dress of rich reseda green satin cloth, the gloves, modish hat and carriage bag being in perfect harmony, and the costume being completed...by a handsome ...boa and muff in grey squirrel. A sumptuous wedding breakfast was served in six courses...The spectacle presented in the dining room was rarely beautiful, the exquisite linens being all imported and the china the rare old set bearing the Durlacher monogram, which was made for Mrs. Durlacher in Europe twentyfive years ago.62

The account continues, noting that "narrow ribbons of soft yellow were suspended from the electorlier which was prettily festooned with smilax." These ribbons were attached to place cards with "water colored depictions of a charming bride and coy cupid. The reporter also noted that "In view of the informality of the occasion of the event, the array of presents...is indeed remarkable," including "rare and beautiful gifts of solid silver, cut glass, china, lace"... and others.

Neale Roach was a notable addition to this already prosperous and popular family. He had attended Laramie schools and the University of Wyoming. A veteran of the Spanish American War he worked as a civil engineer in the state and was Albany County Surveyor from 1902 to 1906. He had insurance and real estate businesses and built the Roach building, now known as the Wagner building on Grand Avenue. He



The Durlacher family pose for a photograph (above). Han is seated, holding Charlene. Behind her are Neale Roach his daughter Frances. Standing immediately behind Han is her daughter Hilda, married to Neale Roach. A sec Durlacher daughter, Jeanne Tebbets, is seated at the rebehind her is her husband. Standing with her stuffed being granddaughter Virginia. Her parents, Blanche Colt and husband, are standing behind her. Blanche also we Durlacher daughter.

Above, right: Hannah Durlacher

Right: Hannah Durlacher is shown with family members. is reaching for Neale Roach's hat. Seated next to her is ginia and next to her is Hilda and Hilda's daughter Fran The others are not identified.

Photographs courtesy of the Laramie Plains Museum







was also engaged in ranching, was a director of the First State Bank and "had extensive timber and lumbering interests." ⁶³

From these fragments a portrait of Hannah Durlacher emerges that of a gracious woman of great strength, common sense, good taste and love of her family. She survived—and overcame—the death of two husbands and a daughter; conserved the estate and family home and, as matriarch, protected and maintained close family ties.

Very little is known of Simon, in part, because of his early death. It was difficult for grandchildren who had never known him to preserve his memory. Charlene Hecht states that Otto Gramm was the only grandfather she remembered. The fact that Durlacher was a warm, caring man as well as an astute business man is reflected in the few family records available and in his obituary. Local newspapers paid him high tribute, impressive even when allowing for the extravagant journalism of the day:

While he was naturally a man of retiring disposition he enjoyed companionship. His friends were legion and he was an ever ready participant in the social pleasures of the group of his more intimate friends...He was a man of unimpeachable uprightness and honesty.⁶⁴

Although it was not uncommon for families to lose track of one another during the westward movement, due primarily to the difficulties of travel and communication at that time, it seems curious that Durlacher seemingly made no attempt to keep in touch with either his parents or siblings. Neither the names of his parents or siblings are listed in the family histories available and they are not even mentioned in his obituary. Even the fact that the older sons of large families were often sent out "on their own" to earn a living does not explain this complete lack of mention or contact. 65

Other intriguing aspects of the Durlacher family are the questions arising from the fact that they were Jewish. How did this affect their lives in Laramie? Were they singled out for discrimination?

Apparently, they did not practice Judaism in Laramie. There is no mention of Jewish celebrations in any of the social accounts in the local papers, a rabbi did not officiate at their funeral 66 and neither are buried in a Jewish cemetery. 67 Jean Hager stated that she did not recall any mention of Judaism. In fact, she believed that the younger generations were unaware of the fact that the Durlachers were Jewish. 68

There is no indication that their Jewish heritage affected the status of the Durlachers in the community or that they suffered any discrimination. This, too, was largely typical of the Western frontier. In Cheyenne, for instance, "amazingly few Jews...recall any anti-Semitic incidents," and another source remarks about the "relative absence of anti-Semitism in the West." Eric Kohler, Associate Professor of History at the University of Wyoming, calls this "a function of numbers—when there are not too many people and plenty of resources, there is no need for prejudice."

The impressive Durlacher monument stands today in the Greenhill Cemetery as mute evidence of the prominence of this family. Not only does the large grey stone dominate its area of the cemetery, but the location of the plot, adjoining the speaker's platform in the GAR section, is one of the most important in the cemetery.⁷⁰

The Durlacher home is now headquarters for the Salvation Army Corps. The exterior lines are little changed, but stucco has replaced the bricks. Extensive remodeling has erased most of the original interior, except the newel post, the doors into the central hall and the impressive folding doors between the dining room and the hall. But the hospitality that once made this home a social center in Laramie continues as the city's less fortunate are welcomed with meals and services in the chapel that was formed out of the library and music room.

The influence of the families extends into the present day in Laramie, especially through the Roach estate. The house and its entire contents was willed to the Albany County Historical Society and are housed in the Laramie Plains Museum. The accession list shows more than 400 items from the Durlacher/Gramm/Roach estates, including much of the fine china and glass now exhibited, and several pieces of hand carved furniture from the Wyoming Territorial Penitentiary. One hundred and six books are listed as well as a large bell collection, a stamp collection and an 1886 map of Albany County by W. O. Owen.

The Durlacher story is significant in Wyoming's history. It is the story, repeated many times over, of an important facet of settling of the frontier—the development of the social and economic structures in the small towns that supported the westward movement. The contributions Simon and Hannah Durlacher made to the Laramie community also underline the importance of the merchant in developing new frontiers.

- ¹ Located at 203 S. Second Street, the building was recently renovated and much of its historic fabric was restored and/or preserved to house the Chickering Bookstore. Owner Lois Mena carefully preserved the cornice, the second story facade and other remnants of the original building, removed the pseudo-Art Deco front of the first story and added a new store front compatible with the original Victorian era store front.
- ² J. H. Triggs, *History and Directory of Laramie City, Wyoming Territory*, (Laramie City:Daily Sentinel, 1875, Facsimile Copy, Laramie: Mountain States Litho., 1955), 15-17.
- ³ This is the only documentary mention of Durlacher's family. His obituary lists only his wife and daughters as survivors.
- ⁴ Laramie Republican, obituary, July 19, 1893. Another account states that Durlacher had moved to Danville in 1852, where he was "engaged in the merchandising business." Laramie Boomerang, July 19, 1893.
- ⁵ Laramie Boomerang, July 19, 1893, Durlacher obituary. No mention is made connecting the war wound and his final illness.
- ^o File Microcopies of Records in the National Archives: No. 123, Roll 117, *Eleventh Census Of The United States, 1890,* Schedules Enumerating Union Veterans And Widows Of Union Veterans Of The Civil War, Wyoming, Bundle 196. (Microfilm: National Archives, Wash., 1948) 3.
- ⁷ Excerpt from a fragment of a letter from Babbitt (Tibbett) McCormack, a granddaughter of Simon and Hannah Durlacher, n.d., Durlacher File, Laramie Plains Museum.
- ⁸ Burlington, Iowa City Directory, 1866, 62. Durlacher is not listed as a clerk in the Lehmann store, but the addresses are identical, 11 Jefferson. By a striking coincidence, at least to the author, Durlacher boarded at the Lawrence House. Courtesy Burlington Public Library.
- ⁹ Walter C. Reusser, *History of the Laramie Lodge No. 3*, A.F.& A.M. of Wyoming 1870-1970. Laramie: n.p.,1970), 101.
- ¹⁰ Laramie Boomerang, June 23, 1899.
- ¹¹ Laramie Daily Sentinel, September 24, 1870, as cited in "Jews in Wyoming," Carl V. Hallberg, Annals of Wyoming, 61:1, 14.
- ¹² "Brief History of the Durlacher-Gramm Family," (author unknown), Simon Durlacher file, Laramie Plains Museum.
- ¹³ "A Brief History of the Durlacher-Gramm Family," Simon Durlacher file, Laramie Plains Museum.
- ¹⁴ Triggs, Directory of Laramie City, Wyoming Territory, 5.
- ¹⁵ "List of Merchants," *Laramie Boomerang, May 6, 1871,* includes Frank & Appel clothing store, but Hellman is not listed. E. Hellman appeared on a similar list published Oct. 17, 1872.

- ¹⁶ Gladys B. Beery, *The Front Streets of Laramie*, (Laramie: Jelm) 1990. 173-176.
- ¹⁷ There are several conflicting accounts about the original log building and its location and Manasse is not mentioned again as co-owner of the building. Nor has any record of the dissolution of their partnership surfaced. Apparently, however, there was no conflict between the partners as the families remained friends for many years. There is no record of the fate of the iron front.
- ¹⁸ This later became the Edward Ivinson Bank and was eventually torn down,
- ¹⁰ Walter C. Reusser, P.M., *History of the Laramie Lodge No. 3, A.F. & A.M. of Wyoming 1870-1970.* (Laramie: n.p.,1970), 9-12. ln 1882 the Lodge sold its interest in the building for \$1500 and moved to the new Cooper and Marsh building located on the south corner of the same block. No evidence of the Masonic meeting hall has survived the various changes in the building.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, "As early as 1870 the minutes record donations for relief, aid for a brother stranded in a distant city, contributions toward funeral expenses of a sojourner, donation of a burial plot, assistance for the widow of a deceased brother, and other acts of charity." 11.
- ²² Laramie Daily Sentinel, Nov. 13, 1878. Charles Klingerman was a local contractor and carpenter and Durlacher paid \$2,000 for the building.
- ²³ Spiro Kostof, A History of Architecture, Settings and Rituals. (New York:Oxford, 1985), 682.
- ²⁴Gladys Beery, "Historic Mansion Houses Corps in Laramie, Wyoming," *The War Cry*, Nov. 25, 1978 (The Salvation Army Corps of Laramie had purchased the building in 1954 as a Service Center and this article was written in celebration of the 100th birthday of the "mansion").
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12
- ²⁶ This may explain why the Masons sold the second story back to Durlacher. He needed the space.
- ²⁷ This was a tall ornate fountain with spouts on the urn portion at the top, and the water falling into a basin. Apparently the fountain could be used for drinking for people (at the spouts) and animals (in the basin).
- ²⁸ Boomerang, Nov. 2, 1893.
- ²⁹ No evidence of this gas lighting remains.
- ³⁰ "Hon. Simon Durlacher and family of Laramie City were east bound passengers yesterday, bound for a summer's European tour. *Boomerang*, Apr. 3, 1881.

- ³¹ "Simon Durlacher left for his annual business trip to New York this week, taking his wife and oldest daughter. They will be gone about six weeks. *Boomerang*, July 23, 1887.
- ³² Blanche, who married C. H. Colt, died July 14; Hilda married H. N. Roach; and Jean married Dr. R. L. Tebbitt. The family custom of double names continued—the three Colt daughters were named Virginia Hannah, Frances Neale and Cloe Charlene.
- 33 Boomerang, Jan. 2, 1900.
- ³⁴ Wyoming Blue Book Vol. I, Ed. Virginia C. Trenholm, Reprint of Part One, Wyoming Historical Blue Book, Marie Erwin, Ed. (Cheyenne: Pioneer, 1974), 342.
- 35 lbid. Jan. 7, 1878.
- ³⁶ *Boomerang*, Aug. 8, 1890. Also listed were W. H. Holliday, Nellis Corthell, David Huskey, J. W. Connor, D. H. Breese and H. K. Evans.
- ³⁷ This hall, "located on Third street" was built in 1886 and dedicated May 17 of that year. *Boomerang*, May 9, 1886. The hall was literally the community center of Laramie for many years. Everything from church socials to concerts, plays and dances were held there almost weekly.
- ³⁸ This organization was very important in both social and civic events in this post-Civil War period when much of the male populace were veterans of this war.
- ³⁹ Obituary, *Boomerang*, July 19, 1883. This record has not surfaced in current research.
- ⁴⁰ "Quite a delegation west to Denver this morning, most of them to attend the Grand Army Encampment. The delegation included Mr. and Mrs. Simon Durlacher, Mrs. Otto Gramm and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. E. N. Allen, Mrs. Mollie Ingersoll, Mrs. E. Prahl, C. W. Spalding, E. C. Holliday, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Fitch, Judge M. C. Brown and Mrs. M. E. Bramel. *Boomerang*, Apr. 16, 1890.
- 41 Boomerang, Aug. 17, 1892.
- 42 No record has surfaced to indicate that this illness was related to his war injury.
- 43 Boomerang, July 19, 1893.
- ⁴⁴ These men were all prominent in Laramie and their names are included here to emphasize the status of the Durlacher family in the community.
- 45 Boomerang, Aug. 21, 1893
- ⁴⁶ Boomerang, Sept 13. No reason was given for the trip. Perhaps Mrs. Durlacher, relieved of the burden of running the store and still grieving for her husband simply wanted "to get away."

- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1878. A later dispatch, Oct. 14, identified the store as the "Trabing Brothers ranch on Crazy Woman's Creek, 28 miles north of this post [Fort McKinney]."
- ⁴⁸ There were several robberies including another robbery of the Trabing store and stage and mail robberies during the next few months according to stories in the <u>Boomerang</u>, October to December, 20,1878, when members of a "Road Gang" were tried.
- ⁴⁹ This suit enabled Mrs. Durlacher to reclaim full title to the merchandise under the terms of a chattel mortgage. No reasons are given for this failure, but there was a nation-wide depression during these years, and perhaps experience in the grocery business did not prepare Bauman for the men's clothing business.
- ⁵⁰ Obituary, copied from the *Laramie Republican and Laramie Boomerang*, Dec. 19, 1927, with the notation of another story on Nov. 20, 1927. Otto Gramm file, Laramie Plains Museum.
- ⁵¹ Located on the northwest corner of Second Street and Thornberg Avenue (Ivinson Avenue) catty corner from the Durlacher store.
- ⁵² Obituary, Otto Gramm file, Laramie Plains Museum.
- ⁵³ Gramm's estate listed the following heirs: Frances Colt Pennell, Charlene Colt Miller, Jean Durlacher Tebbitt and Hilda Durlacher Roach, executrix. W. W. Husted was administrator. Durlacher Collection, Laramie Plains Museum.
- ⁵⁴The enrollment of the University at that time was much smaller and all exams were held in the old "Half Acre." Several classes were held simultaneously. The old "study chairs" with their wide arms were spaced far apart and the several classes were separated by even wider aisles. Professors usually patrolled the aisles to discourage the many inventive methods of "cribbing."
- ⁵⁵ Four grandchildren were listed in the obituary: Virginia (Mrs. Ward Husted); Frances: and Charlene (Mrs. Richard Hecht) daughters of Mrs. Colt; and Bobbette Tebbitt. A brother and two sisters were also listed: Jacob Gross, Mrs. Fannie Bauman and Mrs. Sophie Strauss, all of Denver. *Laramie Republican*, Jan. 15, 1930. Her estate included a list of furnishings for four bedrooms. hall. library, parlor. dining room. servants. service room and kitchen; mercantile building (Durlacher store) and grazing land. Durlacher file, Laramie Plains Museum.
- ⁵⁶ Most of these photos are housed at the Laramie Plains Museum in Laramie, Wyoming, as a part of the Roach estate which was willed to the Albany County Historical Society.
- ⁵⁷ First interview July 14, 1995, second interview and editing of transcription, August, 1995. Tape and transcription in possession of the author. Hilda Hannah, Durlacher's second daughter had married H. N. Roach and following their marriage they lived in the Durlacher home with Hannah. Hilda was known as "Aunt Tommy" to the Husted girls who frequently visited the Roach/

Durlacher home, and it is through her shared memories that Jane knew the Durlachers:Mrs. Durlacher was called "Nammy" by her grandchildren and she was much loved—but strict. The Colt children often spent summers with their grandmother and stayed there while attending the University.

⁵⁸ "A Brief History of the Durlacher-Gramm Family." Simon Durlacher file, Laramie Plains Museum.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

60 "History of Durlacher-Gramm Families," Laramie Plains Museum.

⁶¹ Frontier Favorites, a Cookbook Dedicated to Albany County's First Ladies, Laramie Civic League (n.p.:Laramie, 1967), 23. The recipe was submitted by Mrs. Charlene Hecht, granddaughter of the Durlachers. This book, a project of the Centennial Jubilee (1868 to 1968), combines "treasured" recipes with snippets of Albany County history. It is dedicated to "those who came with the wagons and early trains to a then unsettled land," and is available at the Laramie Plains Museum bookstore.

⁶² Laramie Republican, Dec. 6, 1905.

⁶³ *Ibid.* The Roaches lived in the Durlacher home until 1940 when they built the Art-Deco style home, at 1420 East Grand Avenue. This house and contents were willed to the Albany County Historical Society, and the house is now occupied by the Alpha Gamma Rho fraternity.

64 Laramie Republican, July 19, 1893.

⁶⁵ One account lists Pottsville. Pennsylvania as his home town and another states that he had moved to Danville (Denville, Danesville?) and enlisted in the Union Army from there.

Durlacher file, Laramie Plains Museum.

Of The Masons officiated at Simon's funeral, which was held at home and Hannah had requested that the only service be at the graveside where the Women's Relief Corps held services. This would also indicate that they did not join any local Christian church.

⁶⁷ There was, and is, no special burying place for Jews in Laramie and this demonstrates the difficulties Jews faced when maintaining their religious rituals.

68 Interview, Jean Hager.

⁶⁹ Mark Elliott and Marie Still, *Lest We Forget Remembrances* of Cheyenne's Jews. (Cheyenne: Frontier, 1990), 35.

Hannah is buried opposite Simon and Otto Gramm lies beside her. Hilda is buried beside her husband. H. R. Roach, and Mrs. Colt, Jean Durlacher Tebbitt and her husband and daughter. Bobbett Tibbett McCormack, also rest here.

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'TO ME, HISTORY WILL ALWAYS BE PEOPLE AND THEIR MEMORIES'

A BIOGRAPHY OF AGNES WRIGHT SPRING

By Fran Springer



American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

For Agnes Wright Spring those people and their memories provided the material for a prolific career in western history writing. Born in Delta, Colorado, January 5, 1894, Mrs. Spring knew many of those people herself, lived in their time, or knew people whose memories of them were fresh. The family move to a ranch 23 miles west of Laramie when she was seven gave her ample opportunity to meet and observe people of all kinds who were actively involved in the settling of the West.¹

The ranch itself was representative of many estab-

lished in the area before the turn of the century. The original owner acquired his 640 acres of prairie through the Desert Land Act in 1879. A later owner, who built the one-story ten-room ranch house in 1884, came from England to invest in a large cattle ranch and in gold and silver mines. Mrs. Spring described it as a "wonderful home" which "stood near the bank of the Little Laramie

¹Olga Curtis, "The Beloved Historian," *Denver Post Empire Magazine*, October 21, 1979, 46, 49.

which was bordered by willows, alders, wild roses, currants, and cottonwoods." She remembered its "massive dark logs contrasted with colorful white chinking."²

During the years Mrs. Spring and her sisters Lucile, Rachel, and Alice were growing up on the ranch their father, Gordon Wright, ran a stage line and freighting business between Laramie and the Keystone and New Rambler mines in the Centennial area. As the trip from Laramie over plains devoid of houses, trees, fences, poles, or rails took six hours on a two-rut dirt road, the Wright Ranch accommodated overnight guests and the journey to the mines was completed the next day. Mrs. Wright also kept a post office named Filmore at the roll-top desk in the ranch dining room to serve the miners and residents of the Centennial Valley.³

The Wrights substituted for family to "miners, prospectors, surveyors, financiers, geologists, teachers, fishermen, and hunters-men and women of all occupations." Conversations at dinner and in the evenings ranged from talk of ranching and mining to the not-too-popular Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot, and grazing fees-and on to socialism. Knowing people such as Nathaniel (Nate) K. Boswell, one of the most respected lawmen in the territory, as "Grandpa," remembering local outlaw Tom Horn's hanging in Cheyenne, as well as having contact with all manner of travelers, left an indelible impression on Mrs. Spring's young mind and provided anecdotal material for future writing.⁴

Her first story, "Benton' 5 Bear," written at age 11, won first prize at the county fair. The next year an attempt to write about travel in Wyoming (without benefit of having traveled) taught the youngster a lesson she never forgot-do not write about something you do not know. One hundred percent accuracy was her creed thereafter.

Changes came fast to the valley after the turn of the century. Mrs. Spring remembered when the Rambler Telephone Company put its first line out from Laramie in 1904. The ranch was the only place in the vicinity with a line. On New Year's Eve central left the switchboard open and folks gathered at the ranch to listen to the celebrating in Laramie! The Laramie Hahns Peak and Pacific Railroad continued its rail line to Centennial in 1907. Mrs. Wright and the girls were amazed when their ride on the first train arrived at their crossing (also called Filmore) 17 miles from Laramie in only an hour and a half. Mr. Wright's Concord stage coach (now retired at the Wyoming Pioneer Museum in Douglas) made trips to the Snowy Range for family outings, tourists, and surveyors as the railroad took over the freight and passengers from Laramie. In 1912 he built a second story on the house and became a dude rancher. The train received the mail contract and the post office was moved to Centennial. Many ranchers turned to farming with the promotion of irrigation along the east side of the mountains. It was a time of new conveniences and new ideas.⁵

Mrs. Spring was sent to school in Laramie when she was 13. Her father's family had settled there in 1884, and she stayed in town with her grandmother and two aunts. After a little coaching in arithmetic from her teacher aunts, she was accepted to the third grade and went on to graduate in 1910 at age 16. Trips to the ranch on vacations in winter tested one's endurance, as she remembered, but in the spring the new plant growth and animal life made the trip a pleasant adventure-especially since her dad would rest the horses periodically and the girls could get out to explore the prairie.⁶

During the three years she attended the University of Wyoming, membership in the Glee and Mandolin clubs finally furnished the opportunity to travel in Wyoming as the groups made concert tours. As the first woman editor of the Wyoming Student (now Branding *Iron*) she changed it from a monthly to a weekly publication. Her work as library assistant under Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard undoubtedly influenced her life considerably. Dr. Hebard had gained respect as a champion of the pioneer and of western history and was busily assembling an archival collection for the university. Her undergraduate degree in civil engineering perhaps explains why Mrs. Spring took a topography class-only to be embarrassed when the stays in her corset sent the compass reeling! Mrs. Spring credited Dr. Hebard with starting her history writing career with the suggestion she enter a Daughters of the American Revolution writing contest. She won the \$50 prize for an essay justifying South Pass as the best place in Wyoming for a monument. Subsequently, she entered several contests and helped with school expenses from the proceeds. Mrs. Spring also developed an interest in golf through Dr. Hebard, who had won the women's state golf championship in 1900. Mrs. Spring herself later became Wyoming champion and won two championships in Fort Collins. Dr. Hebard gave her clubs to Mrs. Spring, who in turn donated them to a volunteer teaching children how to play in Denver's City Park when she felt she

² Albany County Tract Index Book, County Clerk's Office, Laramie, Wyoming; Agnes Wright Spring, "Stage Stop on the Little Laramie," *Persimmon Hill* (4) 5, 6.

³ Spring, "Stage Stop," 7, 8, 9, 14.

⁴Teresa Jordan, "Interview with a Romance Writer," *In Wyoming*, March-April 1978, 18, 19

⁵ Spring, "Stage Stop," 8, 17; Spring, "The West," 18.

^o Spring, "The West," 18; Agnes Wright Spring, Undated letter to Mr. Thorp, Hebard Collection, American Heritage Center, UW.

would no longer play. In a letter to a friend following a golf game in Joliet, Illinois, she declared the fairways were "like green velvet after digging balls out of gopher holes on the prairie sod course in Cheyenne."⁷

Mrs. Spring's initiation into Pi Beta Phi while a student started a long and productive association with the sorority. She was a national officer and in 1921 became editor of their national magazine, The Arrow. During her seven years as editor she wrote a history of Pi Beta Phi and managed their public relations. In 1923 the sorority voted to make a national Mother's pin and Mrs. Spring presented the first one to her mother for her birthday. The Gatlinsburg, Tennessee, Pi Beta Phi settlement school seemed doomed to failure when Mrs. Spring took over its direction. During her year there "she helped change the area from 'one of the darkest education spots in the United States at that time' to what is now an 80acre developed center." She was amused by the comment from Tennessee natives when introduced to them-"I heerd tell of folks from Wyoming, but I never seed one before."8

Upon graduation from the University of Wyoming at age 19 in 1913, Spring took a position as assistant state librarian in the Supreme Court Library in Cheyenne. Her association with the builders of the West broadened as she assisted lawyer and legislator patrons. Her desire to learn more about writing brought the suggestion from a Cheyenne newspaper owner that she go to Columbia School of Journalism for a year. Armed with a Pi Beta Phi \$500 scholarship, additional help of \$500 from Governor Joseph Carey, and \$100 from an "unknown" woman she believed was Dr. Hebard, the country girl arrived in New York City in 1916. She marveled at how the people dashed for the subways when another would be along in a minute or so! The war broke out while Mrs. Spring was in New York and many classes were suspended, so she took war reporting assignments throughout the city-to the surprise of those who expected a woman to be afraid.9

An interest in women's suffrage surfaced during Mrs. Spring's stay in New York. A fellow student asked for her assistance in a door-to-door solicitation for names of women who wanted to vote. Mrs. Spring was glad for the money-making opportunity and also pleased to help with the cause. Her friend was a niece to Carrie Chapman Catt, and the girl from the equality state was thrilled to be invited to spend a weekend visiting this well-known suffragette. The refusal of the dean of the Columbia Law School to let her enroll in a constitutional law class because she was a woman, followed by the offer of \$10 less than a male classmate had been offered for a newspaper writing job "because you're a girl," undoubtedly

added impetus for her to indulge in a bit of a feminist attitude throughout life. She was later known to indicate great pride at having made it in a man's world.¹⁰

Mrs. Spring returned as assistant in the Supreme Court Library and, after helping the state librarian elope to Nebraska in a blizzard, took her position. This included the responsibilities of state historian and state superintendent of weights and measures-all for the fine sum of \$1,200 a year! She also served as women's editor and feature writer for the *Wyoming Stockman-Farmer*, a job she continued for 27 years.¹¹

Her accomplishments while working in Wyoming are still valued. She compiled the Library Laws of Wyoming and wrote a seventy-year history of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. At the urging of her friend, Governor Carey, she wrote her first book, *Caspar Collins*. The governor arranged for her to talk to John Friend, the man who had last talked to Collins before his death, and to meet the Collins family. The popularity of the book demanded a second printing 42 years after its first publication in 1927.¹²

Those years in Cheyenne provided other occasions to meet people important to the history of the time. She knew the owner of a Cheyenne book and curio shop, Ernest A. Logan, who had been with the military unit that delivered 100 horses to General Nelson A. Miles when he was pursuing Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce. Spring delighted in a story of her acquaintance with General George Sliney. Knowing of his claim that he would kiss all the girls good-bye when he resigned as adjutant general of Wyoming, she met him on that day wearing a dog muzzle! Sliney was replaced by a hand-some young fellow who had aspired to the stage, given up, and caught a train west. Mrs. Spring wrote an article for *Sunset Magazine* about his ability to communicate with the Indians in sign language.

⁷Spring, Letter to Thorp, Hebard Collection, UW; Curtis, "Beloved Historian," 46; Jordan, "Interview," 19; Evadene Swanson, "Daughter of the Old West Radiates Joy of Life," *Fort Collins Review*, Hebard Collection; Agnes Wright Spring, Letter to Bill, Bio-file Colorado Historical Society.

⁸Elinor Bluemel, *One Hundred Years of Colorado Women*, 1973, 93, Bio-file Colorado Historical Society; "Mrs. Gordon L. Wright-Birthday," *Laramie Republican*, February 8, 1923, Hebard Collection; Marlene Leininger, "Longmonter to Appear on TV," Daily

Times-Call, February 4, 1970, Bio-file Denver Public Library.

⁹Spring, "The West," 19, 22; Jordan, "Interview," 19; Leininger, "Longmonter."

¹⁰Agnes Wright Spring, "but You're a Girl," *The Arrow of Pi Beta Phi*, pp. 43, 44, Hebard Collection; Gene Gressley, University of Wyoming, Interview March 5, 1980.

¹¹Spring, "The West," 23, 24; Spring, "But You're," 44; Curtis, "Beloved Historian," 47.

¹²Bluemel, *One Hundred Years*, 93; Spring, "But You're," 44; Curtis, "Beloved Historian," 47.

Hollywood needed someone to assemble Indians for the motion picture *Covered Wagon*, saw the article, and thereby started Tim McCoy's movie career. Considering Cheyenne a wild town for a young single girl, Mrs. Spring carried a pistol at night until the evening she was so excited at seeing General John J. Pershing she shot a hole through her skirt!¹³

In 1921 Agnes Wright married a graduate of the Colorado School of Mines, Archer T. Spring, and moved to Colorado. As the couple traveled throughout Wyoming and the Wyoming/Colorado border country for his job as an oil geologist, Mrs. Spring took notes and continued to meet the old-timers she had learned to love so well. She even had the good fortune to acquire an original diary written on the Oregon Trail in 1851 from a Lander motel owner. Her travels enabled her to meet a man who knew Butch Cassidy, a grandson of the notorious outlaw Teton Jackson, a friend of Baby Doe Tabor, and a neighbor of Ella "Cattle Kate" Watson and Jim Averill, who were hanged in 1889.¹⁴

The Springs tried their luck with a cherry orchard in Fort Collins, but drought and the Depression put them out of business, and they returned to Wyoming in 1930. Mrs. Spring worked as chief writer and editor of the Wyoming Guidebook compiled by the Federal Writer's Program of the Work Projects Administration (WPA). This is believed by some to be her finest work and is still "considered the definitive guide to Wyoming." Plans to travel across Wyoming by "car, rail, or horseback" to collect historical material of all kinds which could be used for state museum exhibits, a novel, or by researchers were endorsed by citizens and officials at the state historical landmarks commission. Mrs. Spring gathered "every bit of data ... of importance from an historical standpoint" and tried "especially to reach those who have never before recorded accounts of their experiences and knowledge of Wyoming." She maintained her membership in the Wyoming Pioneer Association all her life and, although the Springs moved from Wyoming for the last time when World War II started, she retained a special fondness for the "land of my first pioneers-to the Old West that I knew-

'If you've breathed the air of her hills and plains If you've watched her peaks in the gloaming If you've felt her pride when her horsemen ride You will join in my toast to-WYOMING!' 15

Mr. Spring took a job in an ammunition factory in Denver, and Mrs. Spring worked part-time as special research assistant in the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library and wrote "romantic pulp stories; at a cent a word" for Ranch Romances. A \$64,500 Rockefeller Grant to study the western range cattle industry in Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana between 1850 and 1900 kept her busy as assistant director for five years. She was active in the Denver Woman's Press Club and the Colorado Author's League which awarded her the annual Top Hand Award in the non-technical class for "Home on the Range Has Wheels" published in the American Cattle Producer in 1948. Robert Perkin included A Bloomer Girl on Pike's Peak, which she edited for the library in 1948, on his list of 100 best books on Colorado, and the University of Wyoming gave her a grant to write Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes for its American Trails Series in 1949. 16

Meeting a challenge claiming a woman her age could not get a full-time job, the Springs went to Sacramento, California, in 1950 where Mrs. Spring became public relations director and assistant in the fiction department of the city library. California people clamored for books by western authors, and Mrs. Spring noted that folks there had much the same reading tastes as folks back home. She particularly derived satisfaction from finding the right book for the right person. Before a year passed a call from the Colorado Historical Society asking her to fill in for the state historian while he was on leave for a year brought the couple back to Denver.¹⁷

Mrs. Spring wasted no time gaining a reputation for ambition, energy, integrity, and historical expertise. Dr. James Grafton Rogers, president of the historical society and himself a respected historian, praised her efforts not only in routine and reference work, but for inaugurating an active public relations program. Mrs. Spring believed the people of Colorado should be aware of the historical treasures available for their use and worked hard to acquaint them with the society's accomplishments. She prepared regular news releases for 75 newspapers in the state, radio spots for Denver stations, maga-

¹³ Spring, "The West," 23, 24; Spring, "But You're," 44; Curtis, "Beloved Historian," 47.

¹⁴ Spring, "The West," 23.

¹⁵ Spring, "The West," 23; Curtis, "Beloved Historian," 47, 49, "Wyoming History to Be Basis of Agnes Wright Spring Book," *Wyoming State Tribune-Cheyenne State Leader*, January 21, 1935, Hebard Collection; "Distinguished Alumni Award Goes to Agnes Wright Spring." *The Citizen*, Denver, November 1961.

¹⁶ Curtis, "Beloved Historian," 49; "Editorial Notes," *Colorado Magazine*, March 1944, 79; Bluemel, *One Hundred Years*, 94; "Agnes Wright Spring-An Authority on the West Putting a Feature Story Together," *Colorado Editor*, March 1948, 6; Marjorie Barrett, "Cow Country Legacies' Charming," *Rocky Mountain News*, October 2, 1977.

¹⁷Curtis, "Beloved Historian," 49; "New State Librarian Scores Lurid Books," *Demver Post*, November 23, 1950; Verla Crawford, "Library Aide Tells of Her Writings," Bio-file Denver Public Library.

zine articles, and a brief historical sketch of Colorado for general distribution.¹⁸

Upon the return of the state historian, Mrs. Spring was appointed executive assistant to Dr. Rogers and assistant secretary of the board of directors. She continued her public relations work with speaking engagements at organizations such as the D.A.R., churches, chambers of commerce, Westerner corrals, and schools. Her charming personality endeared her to everyone, including the legislators she encouraged to take an interest in the history of their state. In her determination to unearth items of historical import, she even read the obituaries and hurried to solicit donations of papers and mementos from family members of the deceased. She worked diligently to catalogue special exhibits, sorting and evaluating manuscripts and photographs to place them in appropriate files and to use for provocative displays at the museum.19

Mrs. Spring's appointment as Colorado state historian in 1954 gave her the distinction of being the first (and still only) person to be state historian for two states. As industrious as ever, she compared her office to Grand Central Station. She never refused to see a visitor. After helping a professor from Columbia University with some research, she received an autographed copy of the Spirit of St. Louis--he had been researching for Charles Lindbergh. One day a pleasant lady with familiar-looking bangs came to make arrangements to donate some of her mother's possessions to the museum. Mrs. Spring considered that meeting with Mamie Eisenhower her most thrilling experience while she was state historian. Knowledge of her expertise in pioneer history circulated afar. Ralph Edwards asked her assistance in producing a This is Your Life program at the Coliseum at the celebration of Denver's centennial. He wanted "someone earthy. Not someone born with a silver spoon in his mouth." Mrs. Spring suggested a female jack-whacker who ran a "pack outfit of burros carrying dynamite, lumber and supplies up perilous trails to the mines over in the San Juans." She thought it a great joke that Ralph Edwards' gifts to the woman after the performance were "a string of pearls, a mink stole, and a Ford station wagon!" She was honored in 1958 by being included in a group of six to select "the greatest and worthiest" American cowboys for the National Cowboy Hall of Fame.²⁰

Through the years Mrs. Spring displayed her generosity and kindness in many ways. She donated such items as Isaac N. Bard's diary of his trip from Iowa to Colorado in 1869 and a photostat of an affidavit filed as proof of "Calamity Jane's" birth to the Colorado Historical Society. When she noticed the tie her young assistant (who was working to put his wife through college) wore

was nearly threadbare she gave him a new one. She kept a notebook handy with reminders of subjects her friends had particular interest in and, whenever she came across a pertinent bit of material, she would make a note or cut a clipping to send along to them.²¹

The work in Colorado did not prevent Mrs. Spring from association with Wyoming; in fact, she was elected first president of the newly formed University of Wyoming Library Association in 1952. She also received the Distinguished Alumna Award "for long and devoted service to the University, tremendous success in historical and research writing and participation in many worthwhile civic affairs"-the first woman to be so honored-at Homecoming in 1961.²²

Writing occupied a substantial place in her life while she was busy at the historical society. She wrote a serial called "Arctic Gold" for Alaska Sportsman, edited Pioneer Years in the Black Hills, and wrote Horse Wrangler in cooperation with Floyd C. Bard.²³

A typical month for Mrs. Spring at the society went something like this: attendance at a museum sponsored party, two luncheons, calling on a lady in eastern Colorado, checking the contents of an old downtown house, judging a literary contest, supplying 15 individuals with requested data, assigning book reviews, receiving and cataloguing gifts, selecting manuscripts for two publications, visiting with 11 drop-ins, checking labels for a museum exhibit, and editing the quarterly Colorado Magazine. She also maintained active membership in the Denver Westerners, Western Writers of America, American State and Local Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Western History Association, of which she became an honorary life member in 1970. No wonder one reporter called her a "little lady who is a bundle of driving energy and

¹⁸ "Acting Historian Puts Pep into Step of Colorado Museum," *Rocky Mountain News*, July 8, 1951, Hebard Collection; "Report of the President," *Colorado Magazine*, January 1951, 3.

¹⁹ "Report of the President," *Colorado Magazine*, January 1952, 1; Maxine Benson, Colorado Historical Society, interview, March 11, 1980; Gressley interview; "Acting Historian," Hebard Collection; Adeline Pope McConnell, "Every Day is a Treasure," *Denver Post Empire Magazine*, December 1, 1957.

²⁰Curtis, "Beloved Historian," 49; Spring, "The West," 24; McConnell, "Every Day"; "Group to Select Hall of Fame Cowboys," *Western Livestock*, December 1958, 25.

²¹Gressley interview; "Gifts to Society," *Colorado Magazine*, August 1951, 237; "Gifts to Society," *Colorado Magazine*, August 1957, 152; "Editorial Notes," *Colorado Magazine*, January 1943, 39

²²Library Association of the University of Wyoming, Minutes of First Meeting, Hebard Collection; Dick Brown, Letter to Agnes Wright Spring, September 8, 1961, Bio-file Colorado Historical Society.

²³"Story of the Black Hills Pioneering Years, Edited by Agnes Wright Spring," *The Citizen*, Denver, Colorado, June 1957; "Distinguished Alumni Award."

encyclopedia of information about Colorado yesterdays." Another said she "played fairy godmother to most of the professional historians in the Rocky Mountain area!"²⁴

Perhaps the finest tribute to her work came in the Annual Report to the president of the Colorado Historical Society in January of 1971:

Keystone of the staff is the state historian, Mrs. Agnes Wright Spring, Colorado-born and Wyoming-bred, comes first to the minds of scholars, writers, researchers and historians in all parts of the country when they think of Colorado history. Hollywood telephones her for authentication of a costume, New York wires a query about a lost gold mine, Chicago wants to know the historical background of Fraser, Colorado, where all the weather comes from. Famous writers and struggling beginners seek her help-and the one gets it as fully and as graciously as the other. She responds to innumerable requests for advice from state, local, and national offices and departments, from publishers, colleges, and universities, other libraries, and institutions. A Western parade last year wouldn't move down the street in Denver until Mrs. Spring had O.K. 'd the riders' costumes as authentic of the period. She is at home with visiting cowhands from Big Horn, and with touring editors from Turkey. How she finds time to do the other things she does, I do not know. In three years she has organized sixteen chapters of Junior Historians. She edits a magazine for them, in addition to the Society's quarterly. ... she collects historical material, she gives public addresses, she directed the making of our new motion picture, and supervises the distribution of twenty-two historical films, which this past year were seen by forty thousand school pupils and group members. She adds further prestige to the Society by her own writings, which now total, I believe, fourteen books and how many book reviews, reports, speeches, leaflets, bibliographies, and scholarly articles, I doubt even she knows.

The board of directors of the Colorado Historical Society elected to continue her association with the society as state historian emeritus when she retired from active work in 1963.²⁵

Retirement did not slow her down. She traveled and wrote, and even appeared on television. ABC's 1970 documentary film, The Last of the Westerners, included her chapter, "Stagecoach Stop," from the John Myers book, The Westerners. Weather forced the filming to Arizona, and Mrs. Spring went on location. The amount of time, money, and technology invested in one 30-minute program fascinated her. That experience reminded her how fortunate she was to have known the pioneers personally-viewers were captivated with their

glimpse of the Old West and only wished it had been a longer program. ²⁶

At a reception in Oklahoma City on April 17, 1973, at age 79, she was presented the Saddleman Trophy for "outstanding contribution to Western heritage as an historian" from the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center. President of the board of trustees Joel McCrea escorted her to the stage to receive the award from Walter Brennan.

Her reaction to the proceedings: "He kissed me, and I reared back like a colt! Maybe you get kissed by strangers in Hollywood, but not in my West!"²⁷

Cow Country Legacies, published when Mrs. Spring was 83, manifests the zest for living and working and dedication to her "Old West" she maintained. This delightful little book, filled with people and incidents which would have been forever lost to the past, vividly depicts the spirit of those times for those of us who can only imagine them with the aid of someone who has been there.²⁸

Mrs. Spring died on March 20, 1988. Although blind during her last two years, she continued writing a novel, editing the diary of an Alaska pioneer, and maintaining contact with friends and fellow researchers via telephone calls and dictation to nurses aides. Her old friend, Gene Gressley, perhaps said it best in his tribute to her in the foreword of her book, Near the Greats: "I discovered Agnes Wright Spring, as have all others, an amazingly knowledgeable historian, an intensely warm person, and above all else a totally selfless individual." ²⁹

²⁴Bluemel, *One Hundred*, 94; Curtis, "Beloved Historian," 46; Heyward Siddons, "Colorado History is Her Business," *Rocky Mountain News*, May 14, 1961, 27A; "Acting Historian."

²⁵"Report of the President," *Colorado Magazine*, January 1961, 3; "Notes and Correspondence," *Colorado Magazine*, January 1964, 91

²⁶Spring, "The West," 22.

²⁷Curtis, "Beloved Historian," 49.

²⁸Barrett, Cow Country Legacies.

²⁹Gressley, personal correspondence; Spring, *Near the Great*, Foreword.

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Book Reviews

--Some Signficant Recent Books in Western and Wyoming History

The Making of Western Radicalism: Denver's Organized Workers, 1878-1905.

By David Brundage. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. xii and 207 pages. Notes, index. Cloth, \$26.95

David Brundage, Associate Profesor of Community Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz, has made an important contribution to the Working Class in American History series. Brundage's well-crafted community study of Denver workers in the years 1878-1905 is based on the close reading of a wide variety of sources and provides a thoughtful analysis of the nineteenth century foundations of twentieth century labor radicalism.

Brundage's thesis challenges the standard notion that the Industrial Workers of the World—perhaps the quintessential western labor radical organization— represented a dramatic new development on the labor scene. In Brundage's view, the IWW was the "logical culmination of late nineteenth century labor history" rather than a "sharp break with the past" (p. 2). At the same time, Brundage downplayed the forces historians usually cite as central to the IWW's formation—frontier conditions and the role of corporate capitalism in the mining West.

According to Brundage, four elements of twentieth century labor radicalism had roots in the experiences of nineteenth century workers and their organizations—syndicalism; internationalism and racial egalitarianism;

commitment to organizing the unskilled; and movement culture. Brundage deftly describes early evidences of all four.

His analysis of the Knights of Labor in Denver is both thought-provoking and revisionist. The Knights' ideas of morality contributed to their alliance with prohibition supporters in an attempt to diminish the saloon's influence in Denver. Brundage's descriptions of Knights' efforts to foster a "movement culture" through the sponsorship of social activities, family excursions, and reading rooms reveals the texture of workers' lives. After 1886—in contrast to the situation in other geographic locations—Denver Knights became "more clearly working-class in outlook" (p. 85).

Brundage found elements of later internationalism in the relationship between workers and Denver's branch of the American Land League. During the 1890s, various labor factions joined to combat the anti-Irish, anti-Catholic American Protective Association. In yet another precursor of IWW internationalism and racial egalitarianism, the American Labor Union urged toleration for Asian immigrants in the early twentieth century.

Syndicalism was central to twentieth century labor radicalism, and Brundage traced its origins in Denver to trade union activity between 1887-1892 when he found that one third of strikes focused on work rules and control issues. Nineteenth-century socialists provided the ideological underpinnings of twentieth-century syndicalism.

The panic of 1893 highlighted the limitations of craft unions and spurred unskilled workers to ally with the Peoples' Party. Few historians have noted this relationship, which is particularly significant in the West where support for free silver often served as the beginning of a more wide ranging alliance between Populists and workers. Populist Governor Davis Waite's 1894 intervention to protect miners at Cripple Creek enhanced the Populist/worker connection that according to Brundage, inspired the "ideology of the unskilled workers' movement" (p. 128).

Brundage's attention to women and minorities is welcome. When he discussed the role of the Land League in criticizing the subservient position of Irish American women; the American Labor Union and the Chinese; the position of women in the Knights of Labor; various ethnic organizations in Denver; and African American and Chicano laborers in several Denver workplaces, Brundage made a significant contribution.

David Brundage argued convincingly that "Denver's history in the closing decades of the nineteenth century provides important keys to an understanding of the IWW's ideology" (p. 163). While he may have slighted the importance of mining's special characteristics in shaping the Western Federation of Miners and later the IWW, this book offers insights into workers' culture, the relationship of ideology to radicalism, and the continuity of workers' experiences over time that are valuable.

Katherine Aitken University of Idaho Moscow

Fire in the Hole: The Untold Story of Hardrock Miners.

By Jerry Dolph. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1994. 174 pages. Cloth, \$40.00. Paper, \$28.00.

Jerry Dolph spent more than a decade as a hardrock miner, working underground in northern Idaho, western Nevada, Lead, South Dakota, and southern Arizona. This is a highly personal story (there are no scholarly trappings like footnotes, index or bibliography) that depicts the struggle of a diminishing group of men and a few women searching for gold, silver, copper and uranium across the Mountain West.

After brief stints as a police officer, construction worker, and lumber mill hand, Dolph entered a mining training program in Butte, Montana. Shortly thereafter he was hired by the Hecla Mining Company in northern Idaho's Silver Valley which became his permanent home.

This locale produced more than one half of the nation's silver at its peak. The author has great respect for his fellow workers, admiring both their physical brawn and their strength of will. He vividly describes the harsh conditions thousands of feet below ground as workers dealt with often blinding dust, backbreaking physical labor, "Mr. Air Blast," and the dangers of working with dynamite and a powerful blasting agent called "Prell." To bring the possibility of death close to home, the author occasionally found an errant stick of dynamite with blasting cap encased in rock he was either hammering or drilling.

Dolph describes his career as a "legal tramp," moving from one location to another, sometimes after a few days or months, rarely more than a two years on the job. He was not just satisfying a sense of wanderlust (although there were several occasions when he moved on at the slightest provocation or unacceptable working condition), but often sought temporary employment triggered by mine shutdown associated with a labor union strike. The author frankly admitted he did not think he would live long enough to retire if he remained a miner. Always on the precipice of financial survival, with a very tolerant and understanding wife and son, he simply "could not afford to wait out a strike." At each mine Dolph was openly concerned about looking like a new hire or "greenhorn" and being assigned the menial tasks associated with low seniority. The issue of mine safety was emphasized since each new employer required a physical examination and periodic safety training sessions.

The publisher enhanced the narrative with an excellent set of black-and-white photographs of mine locations, surface and underground machinery, mining techniques and equipment operation. Some are historical but most are associated with Dolph's employment. The author does an excellent job of briefly explaining technical terms and miner järgon for the lay reader. He portrays miners having a good time joking and teasing with each other but not in the hazardous underground environment. He is candid about individuals he admired and those he disliked, although the latter are often identified with a pseudonym. While the author tells an interesting story, he has filled the text with excruciating detail that is often a distraction. How many times does he have to describe the "dry house" where miners changed into their "differs" or underground clothing? There is absolutely no conclusion. The narrative simply ends with Dolph and his partner trying to clear out a clogged chute in Idaho's Lucky Friday Mine. At least the author was sitting in a boatswain chair; readers are simply left hanging! Overall, however, this highly personal account proWyoming History Journal vides a detailed but readable portrayal of contemporary hardrock mining.

David A. Walker University of Northern Iowa Cedar Falls

The Frontier in American Culture: Essays by Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick.

Edited by James R. Grossman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. xiv and 116 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography. Cloth, \$30. Paper, \$15.

This is a catalogue prepared for an exhibition at the Newberry Library in Chicago from August 1994 to January 1995. Conceived originally as a commemoration of Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 address on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," the exhibit also incorporated recent scholarship that goes well beyond Turner's thesis and so focuses more broadly on the problem of "the frontier in American culture" in a manner calculated to educate and stimulate. The current catalogue contains thirty-four black-and-white and color images from the exhibition.

The first of the two essays, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," is written by Richard White, who developed the exhibit. White successfully establishes a dialogue with the images as he draws upon subtle aspects of maps, posters, drawings, and books to suggest larger significance and as he uses the plates to illustrate what his argument. The focus is initially deceptive since historians may reject Turner and they may dismiss Cody, but they seldom put them in the same sentence. Yet White is able to argue that, their limits notwithstanding, both have powerful legacies for us as we attempt to understand conceptions of the frontier in American culture. Turner's message was that of a peaceful settlement of the West that followed a course of reversion to the primitive and then advancement, individually and collectively, through a progressive cultural and social growth. Where Turner neglected Native Americans by including them in the larger primitive environment of the frontier, Buffalo Bill propagated a vision of the West that literally put Indians at center stage. Although Cody reversed the roles of the Indians and settlers and made the white conquerors out to be innocent victims of Indian aggression, he added an element of credibility to his exposition by mixing, as White expresses it, "performance and history," as he would leave the show to serve as an army scout against the Indians and as the Indians would join the show, Sitting Bull himself leading staged attacks on Custer and his men.

Moreover, it was not just the mingling of history and theater that White observes, but a mingling of identities. The icons take on a life of their own. In dress and cultural reference, Whites imitated Indians and Indians imitated Whites. In fact, as the author argues, carrying the analysis further, the next step "was the most complicated kind of mimesis. Indians were imitating imitations of themselves." This, perhaps the most intriguing part of the study, is most subtle and sensitive and is reminiscent of Winthrop Jordan's use of mimesis and projection in his classic study, White Over Black. The denouement of this cultural interaction and exchange and blending of imagery and referents is a story (that contains other stories) of the West that existed independent of the actual history of the West, and the history itself, both with great complexity, but with vastly different messages.

Patricia Nelson Limerick's essay, "The Adventures of the Frontier in the Twentieth Century," seems out of place in this study. Journalistic and breezy in tone and analysis, the essay seems clearly intended for a vastly different audience than that of either the exhibition or White's essay. Despite a distracting self-referential habit, Limerick moves lightly from her initial focus on the "Velcro frontier" and on Disneyland to the widespread misuse of the word "frontier," in popular culture. Conducting her research in newspaper headlines, she found that people use the words "frontier" and "pioneer" in ways not connected at all to historical meanings of the words, including even the name of an airline. She seems aware of the silliness of the word game, but her conclusion is serious: "a positive image of the frontier and the pioneer is now implanted in nearly everyone's mind." And, she finds, the concept of the frontier "works as a cultural glue" in holding American society together.

Limerick may well be right in this but her own analysis is weak. These terms, as with many others, have meanings independent of what historians make of them; her analysis of popular culture consists of looking at presidential speeches and newspaper headlines—essentially a "trickle-down theory" of cultural analysis and dissemination that omits the people whom she professes to study; and the near universal consensus on the meaning of the frontier and the function of the concept as a cultural unifier curiously suggests the absence of divisions and complexity in modern society—which, a century ago is unforgivable. Is modern society less complex than the frontier?

It is not clear why Professor Limerick has chosen this tack for her analysis; clearly she is capable of sophisticated historical inquiry of, as White puts it, "real past events and real people." Perhaps the key is to move beyond the lament of the use of the word and to engage in research on carefully defined conceptual problems by which we can understand our western or frontier or whatever legacy the more closely.

Michael Cassity University of Wyoming

Old West/New West: Quo Vadis?

Edited by Gene M. Gressley. Worland: High Plains Publishing, 1994. Notes, index. viii + 199 pp. Cloth.

This is a collection of essays, all of them in one way or another about frameworks for writing the history of the American West. The essayists are Carl Abbott, Patricia Limerick, Gerald Nash, Malcolm Rohrbough, Gerald Thompson and Donald Worster; Gene Gressley wrote the introduction. Most of the pieces have already been published in one form or another. The previous appearances of Limerick's "The Privileges and Perils of the Western Public Intellectual" and Thompson's "The New Western History: A Critical Analysis" are acknowledged on the book's publication-data page; Nash's "The Global Context of the New Western Historian" is an extension of his remarks in the Journal of the West in January 1993; most of Worster's "Rediscovering the West: The Legacy of John Wesley Powell" is available in his An Unsettled Country; and a good deal of Abbott's "The American West and the Three Urban Revolutions" appears in The Metropolitan Frontier. Much of the material, apparently, was waiting in the contributors' word processors.

Moreover, the authors and their editor seem to have relied on their spell checkers, rather than actually proof-reading the copy. "Expense" and "whey" are both words, and the spell checker won't question them, even where the author clearly means "expanse" and "why" (pp. 107, 116). Nor will the spell checker help the author to spell Sam Peckinpah's name correctly (p. 15). The book could have done with more diligent editing, but Gressley has enough trouble with his own prose. What does "The New Left and the Right trumpet the fox and the hedgerow of negativism...," on page 25, mean? Is it a reference to Isaiah Berlin's *The Hedgehog and the Fox*? Perhaps. "Reality soon conquered injustice" (p. 4). Not really. Subjects fail to agree with their predicates (pp. 7, 19);

catachresis occurs sporadically (e.g., "exculpate" for "expiate," p. 9).

Another of the book's drawbacks is the occasional incivility some of the contributors display towards some of the others. One wonders, at times, if they all knew that they were about to get between the covers together. Thompson refers to Limerick as "queen of the New Western historians" (p. 53); Worster is "our Kansas professor" (p. 65). And to equate the study of racist attitudes with their espousal, as Gerald Nash does, seems disingenuous, to use no worse word.

Is there any good news about this book? Limerick urges historians to acknowledge their own oversights, forthrightly and graciously. Such modesty will, she believes, "invigorate both debates among scholars and public participation in those debates" (p. 44). She also has good stories to tell about her experiences with reporters, which will resonate with any readers who have ever read a newspaper account of an event they have witnessed, or of a subject about which they know something.

Elsewhere in the book, Carl Abbott urges a "citycentered approach" because urban growth "introduced 'history' into the West in the form of continuous societal change" (p. 89). Malcolm Rohrbough suggests that two of the unifying themes in Western history are exploitation of natural resources and defiance of authority, although, as far as the latter goes, "the West was not so much antigovernment in public deed as in public rhetoric" (p. 132). Donald Worster calls for an interdisciplinary approach to the West "that goes back to and builds on Powell's early insights into the significance of the land for the region and the need for social adaptation" (p. 119). Readers who are interested in the views of these distinguished scholars, though, will find their ideas set forth to better advantage in their own books than in this haphazardly-assembled volume.

William A. Dobak University of Kansas Lawrence

The Life and Legacy of Annie Oakley.

By Glenda Riley. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994. Illustrations, bibliography, index. 272 pages. Cloth, \$25.95

Glenda Riley's biography of Annie Oakley offers not only a forthright portrayal of the legendary sharp-

shooter, but also opens intriguing questions about women's self-imaging and the creation of Western myths. During her lifetime Annie Oakley consciously molded an image of herself as a Victorian lady, demure and feminine at the same time that she excelled in the skill of shooting firearms. Though raised in Ohio and a resident of Manhattan for much of her adult life, Oakley allowed herself to be associated with the West and its imagery.

If the first obligation of the biographer is to reconstruct her subject's life accurately, Riley has done an admirable job given the sparseness of Oakley's own documents and the abundance of tall tales perpetuated about her. Riley's ability to sort through the facts and fabrications, as well as her interesting discussion on the significance of Annie Oakley as both real person and as legend, constitute the valuable contribution of this book.

Annie Oakley was born Phoebe Ann Moses (or Mosey) in 1860 in Darke County, Ohio. Her father died in 1866, leaving a large family destitute and forcing his widow to farm out several of the children, including Annie, to neighbors and the county poor house. The desperate, and at times abusive, circumstances of Annie's childhood forged in her a burning need to achieve respectability and security. She began her rise to celebrity by besting her future husband, Frank Butler, in a shooting match in 1875. After their marriage Frank managed Annie's successful career as shooter and entertainer. They traveled with numerous shows, most notably Buffalo Bill's Wild West, from the 1880s through 1913. After retiring from the arena, Annie Oakley continued to shoot in exhibitions until her death in 1926.

Building on her natural talent, Oakley practiced long hours to perfect her amazing performances. She could blast coins out of the air, split a playing card held edgewise, hit one hundred glass balls tossed up in a row, and shoot the ash off a cigar clenched in an assistant's teeth. Annie Oakley could shoot from horseback, hanging upside down, or backwards by looking in a mirror. Her feats thrilled audiences throughout the United States and Europe. Oakley championed women's participation in the sport of shooting, encouraging women to take an interest in shooting as a means of increasing their selfesteem and security. Yet she remained a model of propriety, modesty, and femininity.

Riley has shown perceptively how Oakley and Frank Butler constructed an image which grew into the Annie Oakley legend. Out of her desire to overcome her impoverished background, Oakley consciously cultivated a reputation of middle-class respectability. Butler and Oakley deliberately promoted her as a Western entertainer by associating her act with guns, horses, Western clothing, and Indians. Fortunately, Riley does not condemn this as crass opportunism, but rather suggests that the construction of the Oakley legend reflects the vitality of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Americans wanted to believe that the West represented values of hard work, honesty, independence, simplicity, and closeness to nature. Annie Oakley embodied all of these virtues, and all that remained was for her promoters to suggest an affiliation with the West in order to complete the legend. From dime novels to a recent miniseries based on Larry McMurtry's *Buffalo Girls*, this legend has continued to engage the American public. Glenda Riley's book allows us to know the real Annie Oakley as well as to follow the creation of this fascinating legend.

Lynn Getz Appalachian State University Boone, North Carolina

Politics in the Postwar American West.

Edited by Richard Lowitt. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. x and 416 pages. Cloth, \$49.50, paper, \$19.95.

The West as a region distinct from the frontier-era West has become an increasingly popular concern of historians. In considering the post-frontier West most of its historians regard World War II as a significant demarcation in western development. Since the war's end in 1945, the politics of western states has been dominated by issues stemming from rapid development and urbanization, such as water use, Native American land claims and conservative ideology. With the aim of describing and analyzing western political characteristics, Richard Lowitt arranged to have a chapter written on each of the nineteen states comprising his defined west. Recognizing the various contentions about western boundaries, Lowitt explained "For the purpose of this volume, the American West comprises all of the plains states, from the Dakotas to Texas, and extends westward to the Pacific coast and beyond to include Alaska and Hawaii." (p, ix)

Given freedom to select their own topics some authors covered only a single topic such as an election campaign and others provided a survey of their state's political evolution from 1945 to the present. Thus, Richard Lowitt in "Two-Star General, Three-Time Loser: Patrick Hurley Seeks a Senate Seat in New Mexico" concentrated on Hurley's third attempt, a controversial loss to

Dennis Chavez in 1952 and Ben Procter colorfully portrayed "The Texas Gubernatorial Election of 1990: Claytie [Clayton Williams] Versus the Lady [Ann Richards]." Authors writing broad analytical surveys included Jackson K. Putnam ("A Half- Century of Conflict: The Rise and Fall of Liberalism in California Politics, 1943-1993"), David B. Danbom ("A Part of the Nation and Apart from the Nation: North Dakota Politics Since 1945"), Danney Goble ("The More Things Change...': Oklahoma Since 1945"), and Herbert I. Hoover and Steven C. Emery ("South Dakota Governance Since 1945"). In "The Emergence of a Republican Majority in Utah, 1970-1992" Thomas G. Alexander presents a thoughtful study on the nature and increasing popularity of western conservatism.

Four of the chapters concern the politics of water use, a common theme in the arid west where many residents see themselves as enterprising and individualistic despite their heavy dependence on the federal government's development of water resources. Peter Iverson ("The Cultural Politics of Water in Arizona"), Sandra K. Davis ("Water Politics in Colorado: Change, or Business as Usual?"), James E. Sherow and Homer E. Socolofsky ("Kansas and Water: Survival in the Heartland"), and Robert E. Ficken ("Grand Coulee Dam, the Columbia River, and the Generation of Modern Washington") all see water use and attendant environmental concerns as the central issue in their state's political and economic evolution.

Although aspects of contention over the environment between developers and preservationists are at least a part of more than half of the chapters, two are devoted entirely to environmental questions. In "The Crude and the Pure: Oil and Environmental Politics in Alaska," Peter Coates considered the impact of the federal government and environmental groups in the building of the Alaskan pipeline, and in "The Battle to Control Land Use: Oregon's Unique Law of 1973," E. Kimbark MacColl described Oregon's leadership in environmental management by giving the state authority to compel localities to adhere to state environmental goals.

Politics relating to economic development (or in the case of Montana the quest for it) were covered by David Emmons ("The Price of 'Freedom': Montana in the Late and Post-Anaconda Era") and Jerome E. Edwards ("Gambling and Politics in Nevada'), which describes the meteoric rise of Las Vegas' economic and political importance. In the area of labor history right-to-work legislation has been one manifestation of western conservatism. William C. Pratt considered this in "Employer Offensive in Nebraska Politics, 1946-1949" and H. Brett Melendy also described an aspect of labor relations in

"Labor and Ethniticy in Hawaiian Politics."

In "Harassment, Hate, and Human Rights in Idaho," Stephen Shaw wrote about the white supremacist movement and analyzed why Idaho became a base for ultraconservative militants.

The authors generally concluded that the West has emerged from its colonial status relative to domination by outside business interests. Interestingly, Phil and Peggy Bieber-Roberts challenged this belief in "'Politics Is Personal': Postwar Wyoming Politics and the Media," by describing the replacement of Wyoming's home-owned newspapers by out-of-state corporations, which they see as a continuance of colonialism...

The authors were extremely well-qualified to undertake their studies. All had research and writing experience in the history of western politics. Consequently, the work features well-researched, informative and oftentimes interpretive essays that collectively describe the main characteristics of recent western politics. Anyone interested in the topic would benefit from reading this significant book.

William E. Lass Mankato State University

For a Child's Sake: History of the Children's Hospital Denver, Colorado. 1910-1990.

By Rickey Hendricks and Mark S. Foster. Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1994. xiv and 209 pages. Illustrations, notes, appendix, index. Paper, \$24.95.

Histories of hospitals usually fall into one of two categories. Either the history is largely a public relations piece—usually written by a retired physician enumerating the medical accomplishments of the hospital's doctors, or it is a more balanced account of medical accomplishments and social context written by a historian. *For a Child's Sake* lies somewhere in between. The authors, a professional writer and a history professor, have written a scholarly volume that nonetheless bears the marks of having been commissioned by the Children's Hospital, Denver, Board of Directors.

Children's Hospital, Denver, was founded with the mission of caring for sick children; research to advance medical knowledge did not begin to be even a small part of the hospital's mission until the mid-1950s. Because the hospital did not seriously engage in research until recently and because it is an institution that fits the established pattern of twentieth century hospitals, the au-

Wyoming History Journal thors' task of writing an interesting history was a difficult one.

The Children's Hospital on Great Ormond Street in London, widely considered the first children's hospital in the world, opened its doors in 1852. In this country, several children's hospitals were founded from the late 1840s through the late 1860s. Children's Hospital, Philadelphia, for example, started in 1855, and Children's Hospital, Boston, was founded in 1869.

So, by the time Children's Hospital, Denver, was founded in 1910, these older hospitals had already paved the way, establishing that separate hospitals for infants and children were necessary, desirable, and good medical practice. Children's Hospital, Denver, was not, therefore, a new type of institution; it was merely a new type of institution to the region.

Children's Hospital, Denver, like other hospitals founded in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was organized as a charitable institution and administered by women, although most of the physicians were men. As the twentieth century wore on, however, antibiotics and other advancements enabled physicians to treat patients more effectively. No longer limited to nurturing the sick, hospitals became businesses that were taken over by men. While Chiidren's Hospital, Denver, readily embraced this change, it was longer in adopting the change that would ensure its continued existence: affiliation with the University of Colorado Medical Center. Although the first mention of the necessity of some type of merger was in 1969, it was not effected until 1991. This may be the most interesting chapter in the hospital's history.

For a Child's Sake is well-written, although it sometimes lacks transitions. This relatively minor flaw could have been remedied by inserting section headings. The volume is sufficiently illustrated with photographs, and it includes an appendix listing presidents of the hospital association, medical staff, and hospital auxiliary, administrators, medical directors, and directors of nursing. Not all the photographs, however, are dated, and the appendix would have been more useful if it had included dates of tenure.

Children's Hospital, Denver, has a history of providing excellent medical care to children in a region that had previously lacked such care. The hospital is not renowned for medical research that advanced patient care, but it is celebrated for implementing the latest treatment and technologies as soon as they become available. For a Child's Sake does not shed new light on the history of hospitals in the twentieth century; however, it is a useful source for individuals interested in Colorado history, and it will be an invaluable resource for current and future

physicians, administrators, and staff of Children's Hospital, Denver.

Joan Krizack Northeastern University Boston

Keeping the Peace: Police Reform in Montana, 1889 to 1918.

By Robert A. Harvie. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1994. xiv and 194 pp. Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$19.95, paper, \$11.95.

In Keeping the Peace: Police Reform in Montana, 1889 to 1918, Robert A. Harvie presents an excellent history concerning the development of police departments in seven small Montana towns. Focusing on the period from 1889, when Montana became a state, through the progressive era, Harvie's work fills a void concerning our knowledge not only of law enforcement in small communities, but especially in small western towns.

Most histories concerning police focus on major cities founded during the colonial or early national period. In contrast, Harvie has written a work focusing on western towns only several decades old who were just emerging from the frontier experience. Because of this difference, this work's major contribution is that in small western towns, police reformers were more interested in eradicating frontier values and life-styles, rather than challenging those values and life-styles associated with the Gilded Age. In Glasgow, Miles City, Bozeman, Dillon, Hamilton, Kalispell, and Whitefish, progressives sought the adoption of eastern law enforcement methods to replace methods long associated with the frontier.

Montana's progressives began their march down the road to reform in 1889, as soon as statehood allowed these towns to incorporate themselves into separate municipalities with the power to provide urban services. In a very brief period of time, the newly founded police departments replaced county sheriffs as the main upholder of law and order. From that time on the story becomes a familiar one, paralleling the development of big-city police. There were the various campaigns to depoliticize the police, to make them more professional and efficient, and to mold them into crime fighters rather than maintaining order.

In his conclusion, Harvie argues that reform in these small town police departments was a mixed success. The police remained politicized and were unenthusiastic about enforcing moral reforms aimed at prohibiting alcohol and prostitution. On the other hand, Harvie fails to adequately emphasize that, unlike their big-city counterparts, these small town Montana police departments did not make the mistake of abandoning their order maintenance function and become overly committed crime fighters. His chapters on "Maintaining Order: Regulating Transients," and "Cleaning Up the City: Regulating 'Decent Folks'" are major contributions to

our knowledge of police history in small towns.

Harvie is to be commended for having produced such an excellent work. Besides covering nearly every aspect of police work, he broke new ground expanding our knowledge concerning law enforcement in small western towns and their commitment to maintaining order. He also has provided an extraordinarily well-written work, especially for a sociologist. *Keeping the Peace* is highly recommended for scholars as well as students at both the graduate and undergraduate levels who are interested in the history of the police, small towns, the West, and Montana.

Fred W. Viehe Youngstown State University

The 1849 California Trail Diaries of Elijah Preston Howell.

Edited by Susan Badger Doyle and Donald E. Buck. Independence, Missouri: Oregon-California Trails Association, 1955. Maps, notes, appendixes, bibliography, indexes, xxiv + 181 pp. Cloth, \$24.95. Paper, \$14.95.

The volume here under review is the first of the Emigrant Trails Historical Studies Series published by The Oregon-California Trails Association under the General Editorship of Susan Badger Doyle. That Howell's diary is among the best of those extant is reflected in the five star rating assigned to it by Merrill Mattes in his encyclopedic Platte River Narratives. In addition to the co-editors, four other members of OCTA (Roger P. Blair, Randy Brown, Thomas Hunt and Rose Ann Tompkins) contributed to the production of what can only be described as a first-rate piece of historical editing and annotating. By its nature, this volume will not, of course, appeal to those whose interest focuses solely on narrative accounts, but it will be a mother lode as rich as any discovered by the '49ers for readers whose interest/fascination in trail history is deep and genuine.

This work is, in a sense, a bargain for it includes two versions of Howell's account, reproduced in columns with corresponding dates. The first account was based on letters sent by Howell to his brother; these letters included material taken verbatim from the original diary which has been lost. The second version consists of a copy of the diary which Howell recorded and amplified (with the assistance of his daughters when infirmity rendered it impossible for him to do the work unassisted) during the 1870s.

A twelve and a half page Introduction provides the reader with ample background both on Howell and on the 1849 migration itself. It summarizes not only the experiences of Howell, but presents a succinct overview of the problems/dangers/difficulties which confronted the gold seekers during their transcontinental trek. Throughout the presentation of the body of the diaries, footnotes are most effectively used. As would be expected, they provide very detailed descriptions of the route followed by Howell, indicating the contemporary location of mentioned sites where such location is known. The co-editors and contributors have also made a most effective use of other diaries/primary sources contemporary with that of Howell to: (1) fill in many details; (2) correct Howell's mistakes; and (3) provide additional background and perspective for the reader. As examples, one might cite footnote #9 which provides information on the manner in which wagon trains were organized, footnote #146 explaining why the name "Merry Suckers" was applied to immigrants from Illinois and footnote #245 providing contemporary descriptions of Lassen's Ranch near the end of the trail.

This reviewer found nothing in this work which would justify, let alone require, negative comment. His curiosity was, however, aroused by the reference on page 84 to "Hell Greasers" or "Helltown Greasers" and on page 116 to "Massacre Creek." With the source of so many other names accounted for, where did these come from?

If the quality of this volume is indicative of what will be forthcoming as part of this series, trail history buffs and scholars alike have much eagerly to anticipate. In the meantime, they should without delay avail themselves of this attractively produced and presented work.

Robert L. Munkres Muskingum College

Perspectives.

By Hugh Downs. Atlanta: Turner Publishing, Inc., 1995. 300 pages. Cloth, \$19.95.

Television newsman Hugh Downs once worked, during his youth, on a ranch near Laramie. He also has enjoyed vacations in Wyoming. And, in 1992, during a visit to the University of Wyoming campus where he met journalism majors and other students, Downs donated his collection of personal and professional papers concerning his distinguished career to the UW American Heritage Center.

His new book *Perspectives* is interesting, educational, and fun to read. For Wyoming readers who always enjoy finding references to the West and, more specifically, Wyoming, the Downs book provides that bonus.

The 1995 book is a collection of short essays. The book also is evidence of Downs' intellectual depth for providing informative, thought-provoking perspectives on wide-ranging subjects, such as space travel, the "Mona Lisa" painting, metaphors, the Iroquis, the South Pole, and education.

Downs, a co-host of ABC's 20/20 news program and, according to the *Guinness Book of World Records*, the person who has appeared more hours on television than anyone else in the world, is both "curious journalist" and "Renaissance man." He's read all 132 volumes of the "Great Books of the Western World." He's a pilot, a sailor, and an explorer. And his essays show that Downs enjoys learning, has a penchant for teaching, and seems rather ageless in his ability to keep an open mind for the broader goal of learning.

The book contains a good share of humor. For example, Downs noted that the U.S. Department of Interior has been known to replace the word "cowboy" with the longer description "mobile mountain-range technician."

The book also includes personal stories about Downs' life. In one essay, Downs tells about his start in broadcast journalism, which was indeed humble. At age 17 and "pounding the pavement" looking for work during the Depression, he stopped to purchase a discounted gallon of milk and passed by a radio station. On a whim, he went into the radio station office and asked the receptionist what it would take to be a radio announcer. The station owner, hearing his conversation, asked him to put the gallon of milk down and read a few lines of a commercial. The owner critiqued Downs' audition as "terrible" but also gave him a part-

time job, which later turned into a full-time job at \$12.50 per week.

Also, in the book, Downs tells the humorous story about a practical joke he pulled one time in the 1950s when he got together with friends in Wyoming. It was a practical joke that Downs said got out of hand and almost backfired.

Downs said he'd been going to a friend's ranch near Laramie in the summers "to explore the wilderness and punch cattle and enjoy the wide open spaces." Some friends were due to arrive at a nearby airstrip, and Downs had arranged for a group of masked cowboy bandits to meet and "rob" them all as they traveled by old-fashioned team and wagon back to the ranch. The "robbers" played the part, but then strayed from Downs' instructions with one detail. At gunpoint, they made the ranch owner and Downs get off their horses and walk. The visitors in the team and wagon arrived at the ranch ahead of Downs and the ranch owner, and, still thinking the whole event was real, announced what had happened to the ranch hands. The ranch hands, in turn, formed a quick posse. Downs said, "We had to get back to the wranglers who had posed as robbers and tell them not to come in, that they might get shot. It crossed my mind that this development might be a practical joke on us—but it wasn't—and we had a sticky situation rounding up this impromptu posse and getting their guns back on the wall."

> David L. Roberts University of Northern Colorado Greeley

Roadside History of Wyoming.

By Candy Moulton. Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1995. xxiv + 416 pages. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$30. Paper, \$18.

Candy Moulton's *Roadside History of Wyoming* is a welcome addition to the growing collection of Wyoming guides. It follows a long tradition - from the trail guides of the Oregon pioneers to the W.P.A. Guidebook of the Great Depression to more recent works by Mary Ann Trevathan, Don Pitcher, and Nathaniel Burt. Moulton begins with a short review of Wyoming history. The main text is divided into five parts, corresponding to regions in the state: Rendezvous Country in the west, Oregon Trail Country across the center, Union Pacific Country across the southern tier, Powder River Country in the

northeast, and Bighorn Country in the northwest. Each section begins with a map of that region. Moulton uses historical photographs liberally. Nearly every page has a wonderful photo of the Union Pacific shops, Oregon Trail ruts, or a street scene from the turn of the century.

As Moulton wanders from city to ghost town to historical site, she offers the reader a concise, but well-developed history. Although readers may disagree with her conclusions, Moulton presents such controversial subjects in Wyoming history as the lynchings of Ella Watson and James Averell, the massacre of Chinese miners at Rock Springs, and the Johnson County War with a far broader perspective than any other roadside volume published to date.

This is an ideal book for those who love to browse with a total disregard for page numbering. It is, perhaps, better suited to people who have lived in Wyoming for some time and know their way around the state than for first-time tourists or newcomers. At times, Moulton assumes an inborn knowledge of locations. Rarely does she offer the reader explicit directions.

A quick look at the Wyoming section of any bookstore will show which topics sell-the frontier west, cowboys, and ranching. Whether Moulton concentrates on these areas because of marketability or because of her own rural ranching roots, she does not fully address Wyoming's urban, etlinic, mining, and twentieth century histories.

All in all, Candy Moulton's *Roadside History of Wvoming*, is an delightful inside job. It is the work of someone who knows, lives, and loves Wyoming. Those who share that love will enjoy reading it.

John Egan University of Wyoming

Black Saints in a White Church: Contemporary African American Mormons.

By Jessie L. Embry. Salt Lake City: Signature Press, 1995. Appendix, bibliography, index. xvi & 288 pages. Paper, \$18.95.

Jessie L. Embry has constructed a stimulating and beneficial study of African-American Mormons. The study combines historical and sociological methods and insights to probe the feelings, opinions, and experiences of African-American Latter-day Saints. The bulk of Embry's analysis is based on more than two hundred oral histories and an additional two hundred mail sur-

veys. The samples are not statistically random because of the difficulty in locating this population. However, the national scope of the data collection process suggests a comprehensive and diverse sample.

The book contains an introduction and eleven chapters. The introduction discusses the events that led to the research, identifies its objectives, and introduces some of the general findings of the study. It also raises meaningful questions but is too loosely focused to give solid conceptual arid theoretical direction to the study. As a consequence, subsequent analyses remain sketchy and exploratory.

Chapters One through Three provide historical background on African American religious traditions, the role of African Americans in the early formation of the Mormon Church, and the impact of Mormon restrictions on African Americans. A weak section is Chapter One, which examines the evolution of African American religious traditions. This discussion is simply too short and addresses too few of the important texts in the field to provide an appropriate framework to interpret African American religious behavior in general and the conversion to Mormonism in particular.

Chapter Four describes the sampling and data-collection procedures for the oral histories and the survey. Here, Embry reports some of the survey results and compares them with extant data on the characteristics of African Americans and White Latter-Day Saints. An important focus is on conversion experiences and the reasons behind movement from one religion to another. These are some of the most important issues raised by this study, but, in the absence of solid theoretical and conceptual grounding, the analysis remains impressionistic and superficial.

Chapters Five through Ten are the strongest chapters of the text. Embry conveys a balanced and lucid description of the views and experiences of African American Latter-Day Saints revealed by the data. These descriptions convey efforts by African Americans to function within Mormonism as they relate to the issues of religious commitment, cultural interaction, public acceptance, social acceptance, and interactions within the broader African-American community. These accounts are well written and informative. We get a superb sense of the depth and richness of the oral histories and survey data.

Chapter Eleven continues to draw upon the data and reflects upon the future of African Americans in Mormonism. Embry, throughout, advances the need to bring more African Americans into Mormonism without destroying their unique identity and culture. However, the

Wyoming History Journal author never addresses whether or not the existing expressive conventions of Mormonism are necessary to sustain its theological foundations. In other words, can Mormonism take on non-White cultural conventions and still be Mormonism; must Mormonism forever be defined by Whites and by "White culture" to be valid to its White adherents? Is Mormonism inextricably connected to a normative White racial identity? What do the answers to these questions mean in light of the religious behavior of African-American Mormons and the evolution of African-American religious traditions in this country?

This volume would have been enhanced greatly by a glossary of Mormon nomenclature. The book is geared toward a Mormon audience, and much of the organizational and theological terminology is not evident to non-Mormons. Also, a chapter that surveys the views of White Mormons regarding their interactions with African-American Mormons would provide an interesting contrast. Despite some theoretical and conceptual limitations, this is an important and useful book.

Dr. Clovis E. Semmes
Eastern Michigan University



TOUR OUTFITH

OF THE NORTHERN PLAINS

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Recent Articles About Wyoming

Compiled by Ron Diener, Teton County Chapter, WSHS

ARTICLES

- Cattle Trade, Wyoming "Cowboy Tradition Continues at Wyoming Hereford Ranch," by Kathleen Brown, in *Persimmon Hill*, 23, 1 (Spring 1995), 10-11, is an appreciative survey of what this traditional ranch has to offer. Her remark that the ranch "could easily pass as a movie set" was very startling, however: since when is the real thing measured by an intentional fake? Still and all, a good article.
- Civilian Conservation Corps For those interested in the CCC in the west (four articles have appeared in the past three years), a particularly well-done exemplar is that of Harold Housley, "Notes and Documents: Elwood Decker and the CCC at Fort Churchill," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 38, 2 (Summer 1995), 105-121.
- Frontier thesis, Frederick Jackson Turner Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Turnerians All: the Dream of a Helpful History in an Intelligible World," *American Historical Review*, 100, 3 (June 1995), 697-716, concluded her major paper with a memorable quotation about the role of the historian: Frederick Jackson Turner embodied the idea of historians as public servants, as scholars whose inquiries into the past could contribute directly and concretely to human well-being in the present.
- Lewis and Clark, the Scientific Exploration Robert D. Clark, "The Strange Case of Oregon's Spring Beauty: Discovery, Abduction, Rescue, Identity," Oregon Historical Quarterly, 96, 1 (Spring 95), 80-97. Taking the spring beauty (taxonomically and technically known as the deniaria tenella), the author traces the scientific explorations by Lewis and Clark, specifically the botanical materials that were turned over for publication to Frederick Pursch. Pursch allegedly made claims of discovery for himself when he went to England with Lewis and Clark's specimens in hand. These specimens later came back to America after being auctioned, leading to the discovery of their provenance. Good detective work!
- Native Americans, Literature Survey While one misses some well-known and favorite authors in Wyoming and of Wyoming history, there is much to be found in R. David Edmunds, Native Americans, New Voices: American Indian History, 1895-1995," *American Historical Review*, 100, 3 (June 1995), 717-740. The framework that he has used can be very useful in assembling bibliographies or surveys.
- Native Americans, A Seminar The summer 1995 issue was the location for the publication of the annual seminar (1994) on Native Americans for elementary and secondary schoolteachers by the Idaho State Historical Society, *Idaho Yesterdays* A *Journal of Idaho and Northwest History*, 39, 2 (Summer 1995): Loran Olson, "The Power of Song: Native Music in the Northwest, pp. 3-9.
 - "Kutenai Tales," collected by Franz Boas (originally published in the Smithsonian BAE Bulletin 59), pp. 10-11.
 - Rodney Frey, "From the Stories, a World is Made," p. 12-16. "Nez Perce Myths and Tales," introduction by Tomas Jaehn (transcript of an 1879 verbatim), pp. 17-22.
 - William F. Tydeman, "No Passive Relationship: Native Americans in the Environment," pp. 23-28.

- Trails, the Cherokee Trail Jack E. and Patricia K.A. Fletcher, "The Cherokee Trail," photographs and trail mapping by Lee Whiteley, *Overland Journal*, 13, 2 (Summer 1995), 21-33. Part of a forthcoming book on the Cherokee Trail, the descriptions and mapping of southern Wyoming are particularly welcome. The photography also helps would-be trekkers identify positions and directions.
- Trails, the Mormon Handcart Companies Lyndia McDowell Carter, The Mormon Handcart Companies," Overland Journal, 13,1 (Spring 1995), 2-18, has traced the story of the handcarters of 1856, 1857, 1859 and 1860-- their journeys and their hardships. While their total population represents but a small number of Mormons who finally settled in Utah, their ventures have achieved mythic proportions and dimensions in the memory and literature of the Mormon emigration to the west.

BOOK REVIEWS

- DeSmet Note the harsh critique by Christoper Veesey of John J. Killoren, "Come, Blackrobe": De Smet and the Indian Tragedy (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), in the American Historical Review, 100, 1 (October 1995), 1298.
- Lewis and Clark Dan Flores confessed to his "ambivalent" reaction to Albert Furtwangler, Acts of Discovery: Visions of America in the Lewis and Clark Journals (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), in Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 86, 4 (Fall 1995), 189-190. Read the review before you buy!
- Parkman Merrill J. Mattes reviewed the new edition of Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*, edited by E.N. Feltskog (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), in *Overland Journal*, 13, 1 (Spring 1995), 35-36. Continental European historians of literature commonly expend considerable energies on the so-called *Reception* of a literary work, including analytic bibliographical work (editions, issues), reviews and opinions of contemporaries and the influence of the work to the present time. Feltskog has done just that in his magnificent introduction to the Parkman classic.

If a subscription amount is given for an individual (or equivalent), the annual amount is noted. If a telephone number is included in the masthead, it is also noted.

- American Historial Review, ISSN: 0002-8762, 400 A Street S. E., Washington DC 20003 202/544-2422 : \$65
- Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, ISSN: 0047-9462, 1650 N Virginia St, Reno NV 89503 \$25
- Oregon Historical Quarterly, ISSN: 0030-4727, 1200 SW Park Ave, Portland OR 97205 \$25
- Overland Journal Quarterly Journal of the Oregon-California Trails Association, ISSN: 0738-1093, P. 0. Box 1019, Independence MO 64051 816/252-2276
- Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 4045 Brooklyn Ave NE, Seattle WA 98105 206/543-2992 \$22
- Persimmon Hill, ISSN: 0093-707X, 1700 NE 63d St, Oklahoma City OK 73111: \$20
- The Western Historical Quarterly, ISSN: 0043-3810, Utah State University, Logan UT 84322

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We welcome letters from readers about the articles and reviews in Wyoming History Journal. Starting in the spring issue, we will publish your letters commenting about our articles on Wyoming history. If you have questions for any of the authors of these articles or others in recent issues, write us. Also, if you wish to comment about an interpretation or provide another viewpoint about the subject of any article in this journal, we'd like to hear from you. Letters must reference an article or review in the journal, be limited to less than 200 words and be signed.

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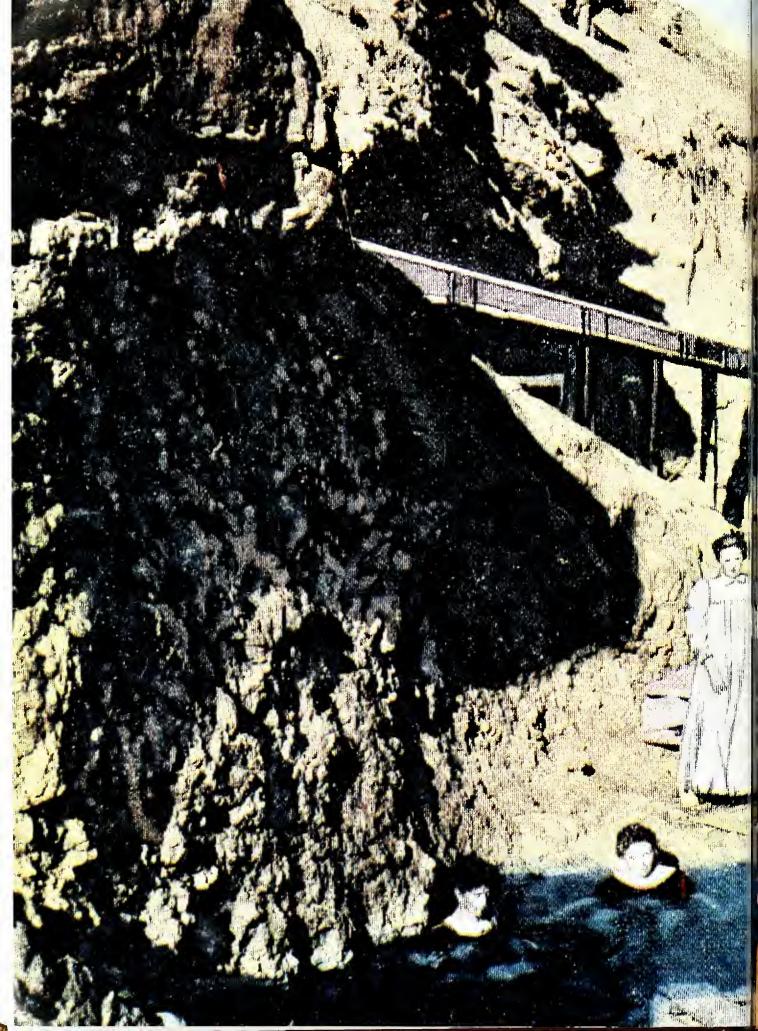
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Wyoming HISTORY JOURNAL

The Journal of the Wyoming State Historical Society Spring 1996 Vol. 68, No. 2



World War II in Wyoming

With this issue, the *Wyoming History Journal* presents its first annual theme issue, a look at the tumultuous years of World War II in Wyoming. Most of the articles included here resulted from a three-year project cosponsored by the Wyoming State Historical Society and the Wyoming State Museum and mostly funded by a generous grant from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities. The project also produced two permanent exhibits at the Wyoming State Museum, three traveling exhibits which have visited many Wyoming communities, oral history interviews, public programs exploring the effects of the war on individual Wyoming residents, and a two-day conference held in Casper during the fall of 1995. The articles by Michael Cassity (the principal researcher for the project), Jere' Franco, A. Dudley Gardner, and Antonette Chambers Noble all were presented at the conference. *Journal* co-editor Rick Ewig was project director.

The paintings used to illustrate the *Journal's* cover are part of the mural painted during 1943 and 1944 by four soldiers stationed at Casper Army Air Base during the war. This past winter the editors asked Craig Pindell, a photographer for the Wyoming State Archives, if he would photograph the mural for this special issue. He quickly agreed and with the gracious assistance of Mel and Carol Ford of Casper, Craig spent several hours on a not-so-warm March morning preserving a reminder of Wyoming's connection to the early 1940s when a war threatened the world and brought innumerable changes to our state.

The mural has an interesting history which itself is worth exploring. In the May 26,1944, issue of the *Slip Stream*, the Casper Army Air Base newspaper, there is mention of the mural being "put on the walls of the lounge" of the new service club for the enlisted men and women stationed at the base.

The service club offered many forms of entertainment for the soldiers. On Monday evenings the GIs danced to the music of the base band. Tuesday was "singing night," when the soldiers gathered around the piano and sang their favorite songs. On Wednesday the soldiers enjoyed playing bingo, winning such prizes as telephone calls and surprise packages containing cigarettes, bubble baths, and other items. Thursday was "big dance night of the week," Friday was show night, and Saturday movie night. Sunday was "open house night," during which the men and women would entertain themselves by reading, writing letters, making recordings of their own voices to be sent home," or listening to classical music. All of these activities took place in a room surrounded by Wyoming history.

The idea for the mural came from Captain Matthew Davidson of Special Services. He chose the theme of a "Chronological History of Wyoming" in order "to orientate the men training at the field with the state in which they trained." The mural depicts twenty-one episodes in Wyoming's history, beginning with the Arapahoe Indian creation legend, to the Oregon Trail, to the coming of Casper Air Base. According to the June 30, 1944, issue of the *Slip Stream*, the "result was a series of inspired murals, not consistent as a whole, but far more powerful, more colorful and more representative of soldier feelings of the west."

Captain Davidson chose four soldiers to paint the mural. They were Sergeants J.P. Morgan and William Doench, Corporal Leon Tebbetts, and

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Wyoming HISTORY JOURNAL

The Journal of the Wyoming State Historical Society

Spring 1996 'Vol. 68, No. 2

2

14

22

33

36

38

45

47

SPECIAL ISSUE: WYOMING IN WORLD WAR IN

In a Narrow Grave: World War II and the Subjugation of Wyoming

By Michael Cassity

World War II was the defining event in Wyoming history. The war brought about changes that recreated the culture of Wyoming, eliminating the "cowboy ethic" and replacing it with influences from the mass culture. More than the "Great Depression," World War II transformed the "Cowboy State."

Going the Distance: World War II and the Wind River Reservation

By Jere' Franco

The Shoshone and Arapahoe contributions to the war effort have been overlooked. Many of their number fought in the army while those on the home front provided extensive services to the wartime economy.

World War II and the Japanese of Southwest Wyoming

By Dudley Gardner

Relocation did not affect the Japanese of Southwest Wyoming. Nonetheless, the war changed their lives and their relationships with neighbors, employers and co-workers.

Remembering Pearl Harbor

By Beryl E. Wauson

The author, a resident of Centennial, remembers watching the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor from atop a nearby hill.

Bombs on the Prairie

By Liz Barritt

In a final, desperate attempt to instill fear on the North American continent in the waning days of World War II, the Japanese launched rubber-coated balloons carrying bombs. A few of the "balloon-bombs" fell in Wyoming.

Heart Mountain: Remembering the Camp

By Antonette Chambers Noble

Once the third most populated city in Wyoming, the Heart Mountain camp was a tragedy for the internees and for the American Constitution.

Books about World War II in Wyoming

Tamsen Hert reviews significant books and articles about Wyoming in World War II.

Recent Articles about Wyoming

Ron Diener has compiled this listing of significant articles from journals, magazines and newspapers featuring Wyoming history subjects.

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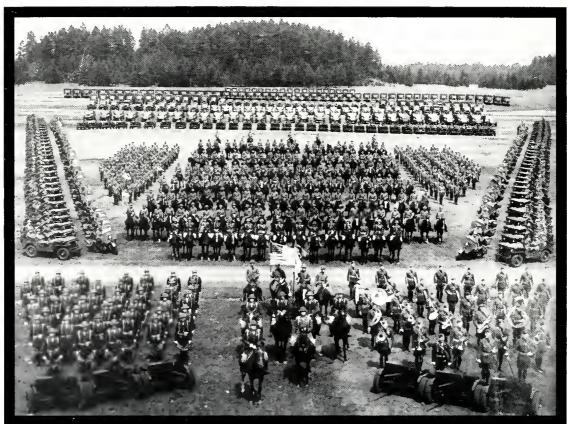
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In a Narrow Grave': World War II and the Subjugation of Wyoming

By Illichael Cassity¹



Wyoming State Archives

A "V for Victory" or a "W for Wyoming"? A mechanized unit or a horse cavalry unit? This photograph of Wyoming National Guardsmen mobilized for active duty conceals tensions the state experienced regarding technology, identity, and local control during World War II.

An old cowboy song, familiar to many Wyomingites today, but known by even more of Wyoming's sons and daughters a half-century ago, includes the following words:

By my father's grave there let mine be, And bury me not on the lone prairie. "Oh, bury me not--" And his voice failed there. But we took no heed of his dying prayer; In a narrow grave just six by three

The elegiac quality of this mournful song may seem to many a strange place to begin a discussion of the experience of Wyoming citizens and society during World War II. Although studies that focus on particular aspects of Wyoming's fate in World War II notice both the complexity of the war experience and the problems of dislocation, loss of liberties, and concentration of economic power during the war,³ the prevailing view of the war as salvation for the economy and rejuvenating for the life of Wyoming remains. Economically--the area where most emphasis is usually found in general discussions of the war--in the words of historian Gerald Nash, the war gave new life to the West, previously a backwash region: "In four years the war had transformed a backward colonial region into an economic pacesetter for the nation."4 Indeed, it often seems that the victory in the war and the economic growth the war stimulated are sufficient to erase the hardships, the losses, and the social problems associated with World War II on the homefront.

Except for the regional view of economic history, the historical assessment of Wyoming in World War II has raised significant questions and has revealed greater complexity than triumph and progress suggest. The most focused and careful study of the general contours of Wyoming's experience in the war, that provided by T. A. Larson in Wvoming's War Years: 1941-1945,5 cautiously avoids global generalizations. Instead, Larson chronicles both the agreeable changes in the reshaping of the circumstances of life in Wyoming during the war and also the problems that beset the various aspects of life in the cowboy state. He particularly notes the changes--not always improvements--in the economy and the erosion of parochialism in the state. This volume has remained the indispensable source for students of Wyoming in the war for more than four decades and will continue to serve as the first, and often the last, reference for anyone concerned with that experience.

There was, everybody is quick to note, much sacrifice in the war--the sacrifice of lives of soldiers, the sacrifice of priorities at home, at work, and at play--as virtually every area of life was touched by the war. And that sacrifice is ennobled by the actual consequences of the war--the defeat of totalitarianism, the preservation of freedom, a rejuvenated economy, and the coming into its own of a new generation of citizens and leaders.

There thus emerges a picture of Wyoming in the war that holds a significant difficulty: The general experience of the war is often viewed in favorable terms, but the closer one looks at the particulars, the more qualifiers that must be added and the less satisfying is the general observation.

A starting point for formulating a different context for understanding the impact of the war on Wyoming can be found in a specific set of events involving the mobilization of the Wyoming National Guard as the war clouds gathered. As early as September, 1940, more than a year before Pearl Harbor, some elements of the Wyoming National Guard had been called into active duty. At the same time, the Wyoming National Guard was federalized--removed from state control. The full complement of the Wyoming Guard was mobilized in February 1941. This was the 115th -- "Powder River" -- Cavalry. By the summer of 1941 around 1300 Wyoming soldiers made up the regiment. These citizen soldiers expected to serve for a year.

When it was mobilized, the 115th Cavalry reported to Fort Lewis, Washington, for training after which it was assigned coastal defense duties. In this active service two issues emerged to mark the changes that World War II brought to the state. One had to do with the new technology of war. The Cowboy State seemed

not to fit into the modern technique of war. The 115th Cavalry regiment included three troops with horses. In the spring of 1942 tension mounted as it became clear that the horses were going to be eliminated as the cavalry became mechanized. This was not just a quiet conflict either. Deeply committed to their horses, the soldiers of the cavalry, the officers of the regiment, and indeed the public held an attachment to the horse cavalry that was slow to yield. In a 1941 review, the cavalry had struck a resonant chord, as reported by a Seattle newspaper:

Applause rose just once yesterday from the crowd of 10,000 which watched the greatest spectacle in the history of Ft. Lewis.... The applause was for the horses and men of the 115th (Powder River) Cavalry from Wyoming. Perhaps it was for something else, too; something gay and romantic and gone forever. For the long lines of horses and men were gallant and fragile figures from the past They seemed to be riding out of another day; a day in which there were no tanks, no submarines, no bombers and no Hitler.

In June when the horses were taken from the cavalry, the commander had to be confined to his office and the officers and soldiers had to be confined to their quarters to prevent a confrontation. But the horses were gone, and so too was gone what the horses represented.⁶

The second trauma had to do with the disintegration of the state's identity in that military unit. Because of the fear of a concentration of casualties from a single geographic area in the event of a disaster, the members of the Wyoming National Guard found

themselves assigned to other units and replacement troops from other parts of the country becoming part of the 115th. The guard's own history expresses the change: "During 1942, the 115th started to lose its Wyoming identity." Indeed, during the war only one part of the regiment made it to Europe, the others were transferred stateside, the regiment itself was broken up January 1, 1944, and finally the 115th Cavalry Reconnaissance Squadron, the last element of the regiment, was inactivated in March of 1945.⁷

The citizen soldiers who were mobilized into active duty for service in World War II experienced deeply the processes characteristic of modern society in which individual and state identities and attachments to particular values and traditions count less than the systematic organization of effort on a national basis. This set of events cries out for understanding and suggests a metaphor for the experience of Wyoming during the war. It suggests that forces were unleashed that completely transformed Wyoming, that generated a loss of local control, the triumph of technology, and a loss of identity. These forces subjugated traditional Wyoming. This sacrifice of society itself was more subtle but even greater than the obvious sacrifice of soldiers and sailors and airmen in combat.

The first element in this sacrifice came at the heavy hand of government in addressing shortages through prohibitions and rationing. Dr. Larson obliquely noted a chilling prospect when he observed that "Most unpopular was the opinion that rationing would discipline the people and make them war conscious."8 At the same time, though, that discipline was what the federal government was accomplishing. Material shortages were everywhere -- or so it seemed -- since



Band, Casper Army Air Base. U. S. Army Air Forces photograph, American Heritage Center

the war machine's first priority was for the battle fronts. After January 31, 1942, the manufacture of automobiles and light trucks was outlawed as assembly lines shifted to manufacture of tanks and planes. The establishment of quotas for distributing cars and trucks to the state meant that in October, 1942, Wyoming was allotted 104 cars; by October, 1944, Wyoming would receive only seven cars.¹⁰ Automobiles may be one of the most obvious commodities that Wyomingites did without, but there were many others put on the list of goods becoming scarcer and scarcer as manufacturers switched from making shirts to mosquito nets, from model trains to bomb fuses, from metal weather stripping to mortar shells, from kitchen sinks to cartridge cases. In the spring of 1942, the War Production Board banned new home construction. By June, 1942, consumer durable goods production in the United States had declined by 29 percent. People were simply doing without. During the Depression they did not have money to buy the things they wanted. During the war, once they had jobs and money was again available, the goods they wanted were not to be found. The people were truly becoming disciplined to the awesome power of the nation state.

But the shortages became more severe. There was simply not enough copper, steel, and aluminum to go around. The available supplies were directed to manufacturers; they were necessary for munitions, aircraft, heavy weapons, tanks, ships, and other military materiel. Wyoming's school kids contributed to the scrap drive effort. Hidden Dome's three students gathered more than any other school: more than fortythree tons. Rock Springs Junior High collected an average of more than four tons per student. One hundred fifty tons of the remains of the old Ferris-Haggerty mine found their way into the war effort too. 12 Russell Thorp, of the State Historical Landmark Commission, protested about some of this, particularly the rush to gather up and send to the salvage dump old relics of previous wars like old courthouse cannons: "Why do we sit back and permit things to be destroyed that stand for our traditions?"¹³

The truth is that it was not just the symbols of the past that were being destroyed, but the traditions and values and practices of the past themselves. For the sacrifice was not just doing without material comforts; the larger sacrifice had to do with the economic institutions and practices of a free people. With an abiding equation of economic democracy and political democracy that centered on individual choice, any semblance of a free market was left far behind because of the changes at work during the war. What emerged

in its place was a planned economy--not a socialist economy (handsome profits for select businesses, after all, were obvious), but not a market economy of supply and demand where the invisible hand of the consuming public guides the distribution of rewards in the economy. The economy that emerged was a planned economy in which government and business entered into a partnership and from which each would benefit, but it was also one in which the costs would be high for the public.

One cost of this was literally in the organization of the economy and the payment of the bill for that reorganization. The pre-eminent spokesperson of freemarket capitalism was none other than Laramie native Thurman Arnold. In 1937 Thurman Arnold was appointed head of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice. What he was going to do in his new job was to restore capitalism to the economy by subjecting business decisions to the force of the market. The threat to capitalism, he said, came from the business community itself which was eliminating competition throughout the nation, which was destroying small business, which was devastating purchasing power in the public, which was "making the West and the South colonies of the industrial East," and which had, in fact, tied itself to sacred symbols and myths that obscured its reality. The alternative was competition. "The competitive ideal," he maintained, ". . . is essential to keep our markets free and our industrial development efficient."14

Under Thurman Arnold, the Justice Department undertook a more vigorous prosecution of the anti-trust laws than ever before in history. Indeed, during his administration of the laws in the late 1930s more prosecutions were brought than had been brought in the previous half century. He secured indictments against major price fixing activities; he prosecuted the automobile industry's practice of requiring customers to use specific lending agencies for automobile financing; he watched the price of milk drop by twentyfive per-cent immediately after he indicted the dairy industry for controlling prices, blocking entry to the trade of distributing dairy products, and using arson, flogging, and stench bombings to exercise control; he secured a grand jury indictment of the American Medical Association for using its leverage to prevent physicians, who wished to cooperate with plans to provide prepaid medical care, from practicing in hospitals. His investigation and prosecution of the construction industry led to 99 criminal actions and 20 civil suits and saved consumers, according to Arnold's figures, more than three hundred million dollars. He

even took on the Associated Press for refusing to allow its wire-service to be used by new competitive newspapers. With the coming of World War II, however, Arnold's prosecutions were brought to a halt, his program was dismantled, lawsuits were canceled, and he was eventually appointed to a judgeship. Businesses during the war were encouraged not to compete but to cooperate--exactly the problem that Thurman Arnold had fought. The free market and the mobilization for war were in conflict and the market lost.

The market was replaced by centralization in a huge planning system. There was a bureaucrat somewhere, usually in Washington, making the decisions about who was to receive what raw materials, how much was to be paid for goods and labor, what was going to be produced, and who was going to get the ultimate product. The list of federal planning agencies was a long one. Their power and their size was even greater.

One consequence of this was the sheer growth in the size of the federal government. There is a common perception that the enormous federal government that we see today had its origins in the welfare proposals of the New Deal. It actually had its origins in World War II. In the mid-1930s, state and local school boards employed twice as many people as the entire federal civilian bureaucracy. In 1945 school boards employed about a third as many people as the federal civilian bureaucracy. 16 Agency after agency set up shop in Wyoming. In small ways and large ways they went about their work of planning the economy and society. And there seemed to be no turning back. In January, 1944, state meat supervisor J. Marius Christensen reported to his superiors that his mission had been accomplished and therefore his office could be shut down. The official response to his naïve suggestion was blunt: "What are you trying to do?--put 5,000 people out of work?"17

Another dimension suggests the nature of this centralization and its critical feature, the close cooperation between business and government. The "dollar-a-year-men," individuals who donated their service to the government's war effort as executives in planning agencies, were sometimes revealed as less than selfless public servants making the great sacrifice. They remained, after all, on the payroll of the corporations that loaned them to the government. Thus nationally, Edward R. Stettinius of U.S. Steel, a holding company dominated by DuPont and Morgan interests, was the head of the War Resources Board from 1939 to 1941. That agency was replaced by the

Office of Production Management and was headed by William S. Knudsen of General Motors. These agencies carried great responsibility in the organization of the economy for the war effort. The fact that the companies that paid them could stand to profit by their decisions made in the name of the U.S. government seemed to be of slight concern to the officials in Washington.¹⁸

The Wyoming press similarly overlooked the conflict of interest and favoritism in the arrangement. William M. Jeffers, president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, was appointed U. S. rubber administrator in 1942. In that position he was responsible for tire conservation, gasoline rationing, and synthetic rubber production. Despite the obvious appearance of a conflict between his public responsibility with regard to highway traffic and his private occupation and interest in railroad traffic, Tracy McCraken, editor of the Wyoming Eagle in Cheyenne, brushed aside criticisms, saying ". . . we know Bill Jeffers darned well and we know he's a hard-boiled, straight-thinking, square-shooting practical business man. We know he's in a position after his long study to know whether gasoline rationing and tire conservation are necessary." As it turned out, gasoline rationing and tire conservation were in fact necessary. By December 1, 1942, a basic ration of four gallons a week was imposed until October, 1943, and then was cut to three gallons, and then to two gallons. By October 1, 1943, passenger car mileage in Wyoming had been reduced by 42 percent.²⁰ The alternative transportation system in Wyoming, rail traffic, was somehow not cut. Indeed, T. A. Larson describes Jeffers' Union Pacific Railroad as "the state's most brilliant wartime industrial achievement." "The Union Pacific's gross income soared," reports Larson.²¹ More than a hundred trains a day passed through Laramie in 1945. Business was up for the railroads, in striking contrast to the automobile in Wyoming.

That this was not a cozy relationship between all businesses and government is made further evident in the granting of wartime contracts. The government spending that brought an end to the depression was not being spread evenly around the nation. First of all, as Wyoming Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney charged, "The vast bulk of all contracts have been granted to a handful of corporations." This was not much of an exaggeration. Ten corporations alone received one-third of all war contracts; and of one billion dollars spent for scientific research, two-thirds of it went to 68 large corporations. And those corporations were not located in Wyoming. Manufacturing expanded

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throughout the nation during the war, except in two states: Wyoming

and New Mexico. By 1945, Wyoming had expanded its manufacturing employment by only 300 workers over what it had in 1940.²⁴ When a special red, white, and blue train crossed Wyoming as part of its national trip to show businesses how to secure government contracts, it did not even stop in the state. Congressman John J. McIntyre observed that it passed through Wyoming "like a cat through a dog show."²⁵ Wyoming was left out. Small

business was left out. Individual entrepreneurs were excluded.

As we consider who paid the bill for this enormous expansion of government, the answer is not surprising. With the advent of new tax rates that reduced the minimum income taxable and the institution of a new withholding system for payment of taxes by individuals, tax collections increased dramatically during the war. In 1939, Wyoming contributed a little more than a million dollars to the U.S. tax coffers; in 1945 that contribution was nearly twenty-nine

million dollars.²⁶ But tax liability, like government contracts, was not equitably distributed. In 1939, corporations paid taxes that amounted to eighty-four percent of the amount paid by individuals. In 1945, corporate taxes amounted to only twelve percent of the taxes paid by individuals. So went the sacrifice for the war effort.

If it appeared that the corporations were able to benefit more than the average citizen of Wyoming during the war, that appearance extended into the rural areas of the state as well. Cattle ranching appeared to prosper during the war as cash receipts almost doubled between 1939 and 1945--a welcome relief from the downward pressure on prices during the Depression. The hard times of the Depression had forced many ranchers into liquidation and the number of ranches declined while the average size of the remaining operations increased in the 1930s. The good times of the war, however, worked the same effect. A labor shortage and price supports provided an opportunity for substantial ranches to expand, and in some



B-17 Modification Center, United Air Lines, Cheyenne A 17 A 16 MILEAGE

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instances where mortgages proved critical, they actually made expansion necessary. The second agricultural revolution was underway. Just like the first agricultural revolution during the Civil War, in which hand-held tools were replaced by devices pulled by horses and mules, this revolution saw the horses and mules being replaced by tractors and, consequently, the number of farm and ranch laborers declining due to mechanization. A brief look at the photographs of agricultural operations in Wyoming on the eve of World War II in the Wyoming WPA Guide shows the dominance of horse and mule power. During World War II the number of tractors--a pretty good index to the mechanization of the countryside--increased by 55 percent.²⁷ Hand labor was being replaced by machines. And it required more acres to justify the machines. Those smaller operations, without resources to mechanize and unable to gain the additional acreages that would make mechanization viable, had to yield to the larger holdings. Despite the apparent prosperity in the countryside during the war, the number of farms and ranches operating continued to decline during the

war just as it had during the depression. And the size of the remaining farms and ranches continued to increase. The average ranch or farm at the end of the war was 36 percent larger than it had been at the beginning of the war;²⁸ the smaller operations were being swallowed by the large.

The demise of the small business--in the city and in the country--was an altogether frequent occurrence during the war. Nationally, the trend was clear. Between 1940 and 1945 the number of corporations filing income tax returns declined by 38.8 million; there were more corporations active during the depression than there were at the end of the war, despite the apparent prosperity.²⁹ In Wyoming, with its small business base, the problem was perhaps best expressed in a letter to Governor Lester Hunt from a small shoe shop operator quoted by T. A. Larson:

Now they ration on shoes. I can't get any leather to fix the shoes l wrote three times to [a leather company]. Never got no answer I sent for hog nails, can't get it, sent for thread for my sticher machine can't get it, . . . sent for mine plates, toe plates can't get them. Look like to me govnor the big fish eat little fish up. I mean the big shoe shops get what they want the little shoe shop don't get any. Yes I realized it [is] War time.³⁰

The big fish ate the little fish and the smaller businesses were being swallowed by the large. What was true in the countryside, it turns out, was equally true in town.

The pattern was clearly one in which large institutions grew larger and the small declined and sometimes disappeared. This may be the trend of the age, but it is also a trend that holds definite implications for the distribution of power in society. Consider, for example, the pattern of school organization in the state. In a three year period more than 200 rural schools shut their doors and their students were sent to the towns to get their education. The small schools were closed and the large were bursting at the seams with the displaced students. The process of education in Cheyenne became a public scandal as schools there experienced a forty-one percent overload and the crowded students were put into deplorable physical settings. Lander had to put one class of 30 in the girls' shower room.³¹

Moreover, the towns themselves changed. Towns like Baggs, Big Piney, Burns, Byron, Cokeville, Cowley, Diamondville, Dubois, Edgerton, Encampment, and Hudson lost population in the 1940s; cities like Casper, Cheyenne, Cody, Douglas, Green River,

Laramie, Newcastle, Powell, Rawlins, Riverton, Rock Springs, Sheridan, and Worland, significantly increased their size in the same period.³² The forces at work in this did not go unrecognized. A Thermopolis resident wrote the governor: "Why wouldn't it be possible to scatter small factories in these towns like Thermopolis and let the people living there work in the factories doing their bit to help the war effort and at the same time benefiting them by giving them a wage so they will be able to pay their taxes and thus keep their homes."³³ The future was being shaped in a dramatic fashion. Consolidation and centralization were the forces of tomorrow; but today they were wreaking havoc in society.³⁴

This was not just a matter of statistics. It was substance as well as size. Back to the schools: The curriculum changed. Instead of local control of schools, the curriculum was revised to conform to national standards. Patriotism dominated most school subjects as students built model airplanes of military aircraft to aid in aircraft identification, as they oriented their nutrition programs to meet wartime needs, as they compared democracy and totalitarianism in civics and social studies, learning that democracy was where the people control their society and totalitarianism was where individuals are subordinated to the larger society.³⁵

By some lights, the pattern of change in Wyoming augured well for the future, a future in which the state counted for less and less and the national system counted for more and more. Yet, the pattern has its darker side. During World War II Wyomingites moved from the farms and ranches to the towns and from the towns to the cities; small schools were closed and students went to consolidated schools in town: agriculture became mechanized in the same way that the army had changed from horses to gasoline engines; small farms and ranches declined as big ones expanded; individuals increased their portion of the total tax bill as corporate taxes declined in their proportion; as the competitive market was replaced by a controlled market of government and business centralization, the least powerful, the individuals who saw themselves as part of a proud tradition of independent sovereigns, found themselves left out, with only the government to protect them; that government, however, responded to power, to organized power, rather than to need in an inverse equation of the social contract, an inversion that sounded suspiciously like the relationship between the people and the state common to the nations we fought in the war. The problem was that the people of

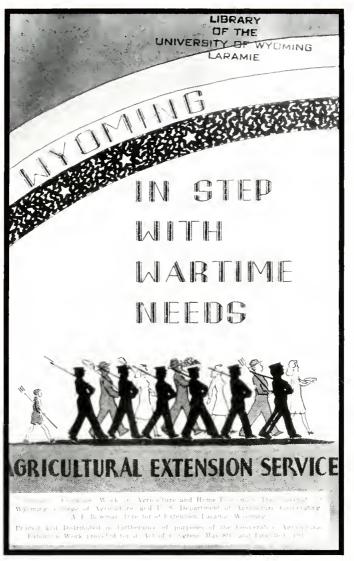
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Wyoming were being asked to sacrifice their lives in combat; they were being asked to sacrifice their material comforts and hard-earned rewards; they were being asked to sacrifice priorities in their personal lives, in the purpose of their society, and in the purpose of their economy and government; they were being asked to sacrifice not just the symbols of past traditions, but the institutions and practices of those traditions as well.

What it came down to was that the people of Wyoming were being asked to sacrifice their pride, their independence. their values, and their birthright. For what? Of course the sacrifice was for a grand, noble cause: saving the world from totalitarianism, preserving democracy and freedom; protecting societies based on the sanctity of the individual as determinant of his or her own fate; preserving a society where individual fulfill-

ment is the purpose of the social structure. The irony in the effort is clear; the sacrifice was really of individuality itself, of democracy and freedom, as people were being harnessed to a new system.³⁶

And the sacrifice, in most instances on the home front, would hopefully be temporary. Once the war came to an end, many anticipated a return to the conditions of pre-war Wyoming, minus the depression. That would not be the case, however. As it turned out, the only areas where serious efforts were made to revert to the pre-war situation were in the hostility to U.S. citizens of Japanese descent at Heart Mountain when Governor Lester Hunt articulated what his predecessors had also urged: "We do not want a single one of these evacuees to remain in Wyoming," and in the



Reminders like this that Wyoming should be "In Step with Wartime Needs" were frequent signs of regimentation that, however necessary for victory in the war, also ran counter to traditional Wyoming values and institutions that stressed independence and individualism.

agreement between the Union Pacific Coal Company and the United Mine Workers as they permitted women to work above ground in the mines: "We agree that as soon as the War Emergency has passed and competent men are available that the women will be replaced by men."³⁷ Both these efforts were successful.

The domestic Leviathan was not otherwise, in fact, dismantled. To be certain, the government agencies during the war responsible for planning production and distribution and setting prices gradually disappeared. That does not mean, however, that the economy went from a planned economy to a competitive--supply and demand--market. fact, where the economy had been planned by the business community operating through government agencies, now businesses did the planning themselves.³⁸ The key to

this was the development of a private technostructure, a business bureaucracy that attempted to plan for the future. A whole body of literature exists that details, and usually praises, the vertical integration, the horizontal integration, the marketing and advertising developments in the post-war period that enabled businesses to operate in and control the environment that was marked more and more by its stability rather than by its uncertainty and responsiveness to public needs and pressures.³⁹

Planning has many virtues, including prosperity and jobs when it works the way it is supposed to. But that planning structure also held a conceptual and real weakness: by including a decision-making process that was centralized and therefore predictable and



The war against totalitarian societies raised fundamental questions that students, like these at Evanston, explored in school projects. Those questions also were raised by developments on the homefront in which people found themselves losing power to centralized institutions and found the individual was being subordinated to the interests of the state, as opposed to the classic notion of democracy in which the state is subordinate to the people. (Photo from Wyoming Education News, March, 1942, p. 3)

manageable, it left out the people; it left out the individuals. Indeed, the individual was fading as a priority in culture. New pressures toward conformity made it increasingly difficult for the individual to find her or his own course, for people to achieve satisfaction on their own terms. The American people were being asked to adapt themselves to their political and economic institutions, to accept a standard set of middle class values for their own lives.

The pressures increasingly narrowed the lives of the Wyoming people after the war. During the war, E. J. Goppert of Cody, state commander of the American Legion and commencement speaker at Heart Mountain High School's first commencement, according to T. A. Larson, argued that "it was not time to criticize anything directly connected with the war effort." Since World War II was replaced with the Cold War, that suppression of questioning and criticism continued. In 1947 the Board of Trustees for the

university, guided by Milward Simpson, voted to appoint a committee to read social science textbooks at UW "to determine if such books are subversive or un-American." A chill had set in that made the notorious Wyoming winter look balmy.

The trends of modernity reinforced this narrowing of the circumstances of life. Suburbia never really hit Wyoming like the Allentowns of Pennsylvania, but the contours were similar. Large towns grew and small towns declined or disappeared. The larger cities like Cheyenne and Casper, did, in fact, develop their own suburban subdivisions complete with shopping centers and ticky-tacky, look-alike houses. Radio coverage of the state expanded after the war so that no part was now absent radio reception, and, in fact, television came into its own as well. In this way, people who had previously found their evening's entertainment watching the sunset, talking with neighbors, or pursuing the crafts of their parents, now could join the

rest of the nation and watch "My Little Margie" or "I Love Lucy" or the even less stimulating shows that collectively portrayed the lives of happily married white middle class families who always found the right, happy ending to their ephemeral crises, no matter how witless and unrealistic their conceptualization. Or they could watch the game shows, which, like the structure of political economy, were also rigged. What television taught was the lesson of World War II: personal success can be measured in material terms, especially of security and promotion; and don't rock the boat, but fit in, go along, and do what society tells you you are supposed to do.⁴²

This pressure toward conformity and away from individuality came from many sources. The pressure to sell your personality to the company that employs you was scored by critics like C. Wright Mills.43 The impulse of people to reshape themselves to fit the needs of organizations, especially those for whom they worked, so that they can they have the security of feeling like they belong, was identified and attacked by conservatives like William H. Whyte.44 But David Riesman perhaps best observed what was going on as Wyoming moved from a traditional society to a modern society. In the traditional society, Riesman observed, the process of child socialization involved the internalization of traditional standards, norms, and values as the individual acquired an internal compass for making decisions. In the modern society, that process was altered so that it became a matter of the individual sensitizing himself or herself to the expectations of others. The sin in the traditional society, perhaps like Wyoming in the old days, had been to be wrong. In the modern world, however, the sin is to be unpopular.45

As we reflect on the visage of Wyoming in the post-war years, perhaps the most accurate insight was that inscribed by a young writer named Jack Kerouac who visited Cheyenne during Frontier Days in 1947. This is what he saw:

Big crowds of businessmen, fat businessmen in boots and ten-gallon hats, with their hefty wives in cowgirl attire, bustled and whoopeed on the wooden sidewalks of old Cheyenne; farther down were the long stringy boulevard lights of new downtown Cheyenne, but the celebration was focusing on Oldtown. Blank guns went off. The saloons were crowded to the sidewalk. I was amazed and at the same time I felt it was ridiculous: in my first shot at the West I was seeing to what absurd devices it had fallen to keep its proud tradition.⁴⁶

Kerouac said this not with contempt but with sadness. What he was witness to was the narrowing of life in a proud land to its commercial attributes, the emptiness and ritualization of lifestyles that once had meaning, and the artificiality of reverence to past traditions. What he was witness to was the funeral dirge for the burying of the soul of Wyoming in a very narrow grave.

¹ An earlier version of this essay was presented at the conference, "World War II and Wyoming: A Symposium" on November 4, 1995. The conference was sponsored by the Wyoming State Historical Society and the Wyoming State Museum with partial funding by the Wyoming Council for the Humanities. The author would like to thank David Kathka and Rick Ewig for their support in the research and conceptualization of this essay and their cooperation in the preparation over the last several years of an exhibit for the Wyoming State Museum on the impact of World War II on Wyoming. He also thanks John Dorst, Ann Noble, and Sarah Poole for their responses and willingness to discuss various ideas contained in this essay. The Wyoming Council for the Humanities assisted indirectly by its continued support for the project and research from which this essay ultimately originated. Finally, his debt to the careful research on Wyoming and World War II by T. A. Larson should be obvious in these pages, and that debt is happily acknowledged.

² "The Dying Cowboy" is a folk song that, like many others of its genre, holds many permutations and recorded versions. It also includes within it portions of another song, "The Cowboy's Lament," which also, for its own part, sometimes appears under the title of "The Dying Cowboy." This version is from H. M. Belden, ed., *Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society* (n.p. [Columbia, Mo.]: University of Missouri Studies, 1940), 390-391.

³ See, for example, Roger Daniels, Concentration Camps, U.S.A: Japanese Americans and World War II (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); Douglas Nelson, Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1976); Peter M. Wright, "Wyoming and the O.P.A.: Postwar Politics of Decontrol, Annals of Wyoming, 52 (Spring 1980), 25-33; William L. Hewitt, "Mexican Workers in Wyoming During World War II: Necessity, Discrimination and Protest," Annals of Wyoming, 54 (Fall 1982), 20-33. The popular understanding of the war also exhibits, again, depth and complexity, is not at all confined to the academic world and may even surpass the academic perspective at a number of points. See my own experiences with communities in Wyoming discussing World War II in Michael Cassity, "History and the Public Purpose," Journal of American History, 81 (December 1994), 972-973.

⁴ Gerald D. Nash, World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), xii.

⁵ T. A. Larson, *Wyoming's War Years: 1941-1945* (Laramie: The University of Wyoming, by Stanford University Press, 1954).

⁶ Larson, *Wyoming's War Years*, 15-16, contains a succinct discussion of this episode.

- ⁷ Sgt. Kenneth A. Crips, "A Short History of the Wyoming Army and Air National Guard, 1870-1992" and George N. Monsson, "A History of the Wyoming Army National Guard," unpublished manuscripts in Historical Research Collections, Wyoming Division of Cultural Resources, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
 - ⁸ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 120.
- ⁹ Richard Polenberg, War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1972), 11.
 - ¹⁰ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 118.
 - 11 Polenberg, The War Years, 11-12.
- 12 The scrap drives included everything and anything, including fat from game animals, hunting knives, and metal recovered from firing ranges at Fort F. E. Warren. Wyoming State Tribune, October 6, 1942; Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 94. See also the various clippings from newspapers in the War Services Programs, Works Projects Administration, files in the Historical Research Collections of the Wyoming Division of Cultural Resources, Cheyenne.
 - ¹³ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 95-96.
- ¹⁴ See especially Thurman Arnold's two classic treatises: *The Folklore of Capitalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937) and *The Symbols of Government* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1935, 1962), and Arnold's autobiography, *Fair Fights and Foul: A Dissenting Lawyer's Life* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965).
- ¹⁵ See for example the Associated Press story, with a Washington, D.C. dateline, in the *Wyoming State Tribune*, April 29, 1942: "A government padlock forged in March will be placed May 18 on the price of virtually every article that appears on America's daily shopping list and rents in all war-boom towns will be battened down for the duration."
- 16 In Wyoming the proportions were unclear, but were nonetheless quite similar. A report of the *Sheridan Press*, for June 13, 1945, indicated that the state had 4700 federal employees as of April 1, 1945. This was an increase of 160% over the number of federal employees in the state in 1940. Between 1940 and 1950, years for which precise statistics are available, the number of education employees in the state increased by 29% while the number of federal employees increased by 95%. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 50, *Wyoming* (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.: 1950), p. 101, Table 80.
 - ¹⁷ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 126.
- ¹⁸ See the brief summary of this problem in Barton J. Bernstein, "America in War and Peace: The Test of Liberalism," in Bernstein, ed., *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), 291-295. The most penetrating analysis, however, is probably that of Bruce Catton, *The War Lords of Washington* (New York: Harcourt Brace World, Inc., 1948).
- ¹⁹ Larson, *Wyoming's War Years*, 120. Another assessment of Jeffers' reliability was less benign. Elmer Davis, director of the Office of War Information, protested about Jeffers' effort to distort information about rubber by killing a story the OWI was going to circulate: "Mr. William Jeffers tried to stop me from telling the American people facts about rubber which had been certified as correct by his own office. So long as I am here I

propose to tell the people the truth as accurately as I can ascertain it, whether Mr. Jeffers likes it or not." Quoted in John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 35.

- ²⁰ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 118.
- ²¹ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 241.
- This lack of contracts came after initial optimism. In November, 1941, the Office of Production Management opened an office in Casper because of the protests of businessmen throughout the state and the support of Governor Smith for those businesses who had been unable to secure defense contracts. The press report announcing the imminent opening of the office noted that "Establishment of the office will enable small businessmen in the state to secure contracts that will keep them in business...." Wyoming Eagle. November 28, 1941. Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 247. Other clippings from newspapers in the War Services Programs, Works Projects Administration, files in the Historical Research Collections of the Wyoming Division of Cultural Resources, Cheyenne, support this common problem.
- ²³ The document laden with statistics demonstrating the power of the largest businesses and the lack of power of small business is *Economic Concentration and World War II*. Report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation to Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business. U.S. Senate, Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business, 79th Congress, 2d Session, Senate Document 206, (1946). This report has been widely reprinted. See, for example, the portions printed in Carroll W. Pursell, Jr., ed., *The Military-Industrial Complex* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 151-177. The conclusion this committee reached was simple: "It is clear that during the war these large companies have come to dominate not only American manufacturing but the entire economy as a whole." Pursell, *The Military-Industrial Complex*, 154.
- ²⁴ A survey of the Wyoming economy's productivity in 1942 did not even mention manufacturing: John C. Thompson, "Wyoming's Production for War Totaled 316 Millions in 1942," *The Denver Post*, December 31, 1942, p. 11B; Larson, *Wyoming's War Years*, 244.
 - ²⁵ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 245,
 - ²⁶ The actual tax receipts were as follows:

	1939	1945
individual taxes	613,000	25,603,000
corporate taxes	516,000	3,200,000

This increased taxation, it should be noted, did not reflect greater income in the state. T. A. Larson noted that only Wyoming and Montana "enjoyed lower relative income growth during the war than the U.S. as a whole." Larson, *Wyoming's War Years*, 102, 103.

- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 229.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 240.
- ²⁹ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial times to 1970*, Bicentennial Edition, Part 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 914. These data indicate that at the depth of the Depression, in 1933, the United States had 504,100 corporations. In 1930 that number had been 518,700. During the Depression, the numbers actually climbed, reaching a high of 533,600 in 1935. With some fluctuation, the country had 509,100 corporations in 1941. During the war, the number declined

consistently until a low in 1941 of 446,800 and increased in 1945 to 454,500.

- ³⁰ Files of Gov. Lester Hunt, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming; quoted in Larson, *Wyoming's War Years*, 152.
 - 31 Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 287.
- ³² U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population:* 1950, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 50, Wyoming, p. 9, Table 7.
- bservation of one reporter that "There are scarcely a dozen towns with a population of 10,000 or more that do not have a military installation of some sort" was literally true in Wyoming. Cheyenne and Casper were the only towns, aside from the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, with a population more than 10,000. Cheyenne had Fort F.E. Warren and Casper had the Casper Army Air Base. The quote is from Geoffrey Perrett, *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph: The American People 1939-1945* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geohegan Inc., 1973), 351.
- ³⁴ See also the column, "The Small Towns," in the *Sheridan Press*, November 21, 1941, describing Congressional hearings into "complaints that National Defense is stifling the small towns 'out in the sticks," convened in Hastings, Nebraska. The conclusion is poignant, given the fate of the small towns during the war and afterwards: "... the small town cannot be allowed to wither and die, because it must be ready to bear the brunt of the burden--as it has in the past--when the post-war workers and selectees come marching home again. It then again will become the heart of America, as we have always known it."
- ³⁵ For examples, see *Wyoming Education News*, March 1942, p. 3; December 1942, p. 13.
- ³⁶ The "terrible paradox" of sacrifice, such that it is possible to earn dignity through self-denial for a worthy cause, whether that cause be the well-being and future of one's children or country, has been subtly explored by Richard Sennett in Sennett and Jonathan Cobb, *The Hidden Injuries of Class* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 122-125.
 - ³⁷ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 277, 320.
- 38 Governor Hunt anticipated some of this concentrated power in the planning process in his letter of February 11, 1946, to President Harry Truman urging the President at all costs not to yield public control of prices to private interests acting on "purely selfish motives" because prices would then rise dramatically and "would result in the most vicious inflationary spiral our country has ever witnessed and could only end in misery and suffering for all." In this Hunt seemed to agree with Chester Bowles' assessment as director of the Office of Price Administration, that the choice was between maintaining controls for a while to prevent monopolies and oligopolies from taking advantage of their position and market controls or enforcing the anti-trust laws to secure competition to reduce prices. Letter from Hunt to Truman, February 11, 1946, Governor Lester C. Hunt files, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming. In an ignominious development associated with the end of rent controls, Eva Carey, the widow of Wvoming's only Congressional Medal of Honor recipient (Sgt. Charles F. Carev)

found herself and her two children on the verge of eviction in Cheyenne because she was unable to pay the higher rent upon the elimination of controls. *Wyoming Eagle*. July 3, 10, 1946.

- ³⁹ See, in particular, the studies drawn upon by John Kenneth Galbraith, most pointedly, in his examination of the planning system in *Economics and the Public Purpose* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973). This is more than just theory, though, as can be seen in a pamphlet titled "When Johnny Comes Marching Home And Hangs his Gun on the Wall" That pamphlet identifies the solution to the economic problem of the postwar period as "Business at the grass roots must lead in the transition from our wartime economy to a peacetime economy" and offered the plan developed by the United States Chamber of Commerce as the basic pattern for assuring economic growth--through careful planning. That pamphlet is located in the files of Gov. Lester Hunt in the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
 - 40 Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 95.
- ⁴¹ William Hewitt, "The University of Wyoming Textbook Investigation Controversy, 1947 to 1948 and its Aftermath," *Annals of Wyoming*, 56 (Spring 1984), 22-33.
- ⁴² The decline of freedom in post-industrial society and an analysis of the forces that lead to that loss were thoughtfully suggested early in World War II by Erich Fromm in his Escape from Freedom (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1941; Avon Book edition, 1965). The critical insight Fromm offered was that "The cultural and political crisis of our day is not due to the fact that there is too much individualism but that what we believe to be individualism has become an empty shell. The victory of freedom is possible only if democracy develops into a society in which the individual, his growth and happiness, is the aim and purpose of culture, in which life does not need any justification in success or anything else, and in which the individual is not subordinated to or manipulated by any power outside of himself, be it the State or the economic machine; finally a society in which his conscience and ideals are not the internalization of external demands, but are really his and express the aims that result from the peculiarity of his self." (p. 297)
- ⁴³ C. Wright Mills, White Collar: The American Middle Classes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951).
- ⁴⁴ William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1956).
- ⁴⁵ David Riesman, in collaboration with Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the changing American Character* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).
- ⁴⁶ Jack Kerouac, *On the Road* (New York: Viking Press, 1955) Signet Edition, 29.

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GOING THE

WORLD WAR II AND THE WIND RIVER RESERVATION

BY JERE' FRANCO

uring World War II Shoshone and Arapahoe tribal members from the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming participated in the nation's war effort through military service, war bond purchases, and civilian defense labor. Their participation followed similar trends set by the mainstream society and larger Native American tribes such as the Navajo, Cherokee, and Sioux. The postwar results for the Shoshone and Arapahoe. however, had less dramatic impact on these smaller tribes than on the larger tribes. Geographical isolation, a lack of media publicity, and fewer educational and employment opportunities combined to reinforce preexisting tribal conditions of separatism and insular solidarity. Furthermore, while the wartime experience effected little change in the relationship between the tribes and mainstream society, the war altered the traditional tribal infrastructure. 1

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Wind River Reservation experienced drastic legislative and economic transformations as both whites and Native Americans competed for the land and its resources. In 1868 the United States Indian Peace Commission originally established the Wind River Reservation for the Shoshone tribe. Two years later, in an effort to settle Plains Indians while the army subdued the more intractable Sioux and Cheyenne, the government arranged for the Shoshone to share this land with the Arapahoe, their traditional enemies. Under the General Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Act, the Wind River Reservation was allotted into one hundred sixty acre homesteads with the surplus land held in reserve for purchase, rental and leasing. In 1905 when Congress authorized the Wind River Reservation be opened for white settlement, Wyoming Congressman Frank Mondell praised the move as vital to Wyoming's economic development. A few years later Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis Leupp negotiated twenty-year leases for white ranchers and businessmen.

Using money derived from the sale of surplus lands, Congress authorized an irrigation project intended to

¹ For a review of Native American contributions in World War II see Allison Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), and Jere' Franco, "Publicity, Persuasion and Propaganda: Stereotyping the Native American in World War II," *The Military History of the Southwest* (Vol.22, No.2, Fall, 1992), 173-187.

bring under cultivation forty-five thousand reservation acres. Although the government justified this action as part of their treaty obligations, white settlers threatened the water rights of resident Indians by citing the doctrine of "beneficial use." In other words, natural resources could be preempted by those who could most efficiently use these resources.²

During the 1930s the tribes began to assume more control over their own resources because of two major events. First, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, empowered Native American tribes to veto or approve the disposition of all tribal assets. Because the Shoshone and Arapahoe rejected the provision which stated they could draft a tribal constitution, they failed to receive tribal incorporation and remained under federal supervision. This provision enabled the Bureau of Indian Affairs to retain control over the sale and lease of tribal lands, a decision which had great implications for the next decade. Although a joint council of Arapahoe and Shoshone members handled all matters other than reservation land, resources, and law enforcement, in the late 1930s the second major event separated the interests of the tribes.³

Disenchanted with government promises and appropriation of tribal funds for such projects as irrigation, the Shoshone tribe brought suit against the United States for ceding half their reservation to the Arapahoe. In 1939 a favorable judgment rendered the Shoshone tribe four million dollars, another issue which would be pertinent during the war years. Furthermore, the Shoshone purchased more acreage from these funds, and the Joint Business Council assigned a portion to the Arapahoe tribe which they used to establish an independent Arapahoe Ranching Operation. Under this 1940 agreement, the Arapahoe leased the land from the Council and paid dividends to enrolled Arapahoe

AT THE WAR'S END.
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MAINSTREAM SOCIETY IN WAYS BENEFICIAL TO BOTH AMERICAN AND TRIBAL INTERESTS.

² Loretta Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics*. 1851-1978 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982); Frederick Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 157-168, 171; Pamphlet "The Wind River Reservation: Yesterday and Today" (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior), 30-31, Collection 3597, Virginia Cole Trenholm Papers, Box 3, Folder "Wind River Reservation," American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming.

³ "The Wind River Reservation," Trenholm Papers.

members. This arrangement reinforced the separate identities of the tribes and allowed for a certain amount of autonomy.⁴

When war was finally declared in 1941, seventy years of reservation life had solidified certain trends for the Wind River Reservation. Similar to many other tribes, the Shoshone and Arapahoe had adopted whiteenforced institutions for civilian leadership, educational methods, and economic livelihood. Furthermore, reservation life had, to some extent, eroded cultural traditions, religious practices, sex roles, and family structure. Predictably, the war transformed many of these trends. In certain cases, particularly concerning cultural traditions, the wartime experience reversed these practices, and a cultural revival occurred. In other cases, such as the role of women and their relationship to the family, a process begun in the 1930s was merely exacerbated by the war. Finally, during the war the government continued their practice of coopting tribal resources for "beneficial use."⁵

Wyoming Indians shared this transformation process with other state citizens. The Second World War, according to one Wyoming historian, "brought greater changes to Wyoming than had all the events of the previous twenty years." A high military enlistment rate, participation in civilian defense and agricultural work, and the construction of Casper Army Air Base and a Japanese relocation center at Heart Mountain constituted much of the state's contribution to the national war effort. Fully documented in local newspapers such as the *Casper Star-Tribune* and the *Wyoming State Tribune*, the efforts of Wyoming white citizens were praised by local leaders while the contributions of the Shoshone and Arapahoe were largely ignored.⁶

Declared by the federal government in 1940 to be a natural war resource, Native Americans, including those at Wind River, experienced Selective Service registration two years prior to the national draft. In order for tribes to be eligible for military induction, the United States granted citizenship twice; first through the 1924 Snyder Act and reiterated in the 1940 Nationality Act. Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier cooperated on a nationwide basis with Selective Service officials and local draft boards to register reservation Indians. By 1942 this cooperation resulted in a registration rate estimated by officials to be one hundred percent complete. On the Wind River Reservation, a total of 254 males, aged 21 to 35 years, or 21 percent of the population, were registered.

Comparable to their white neighbors, from 1942-1945 the Arapahoe and Shoshone sent a total of 130 males into military service. Representing ten percent of their male Indian population and one percent of the Wyoming population, this figure becomes even more meaningful when considering the national 37 percent rejection rate for Native Americans as compared to the white rejection rate of 30 percent. Rejections for Native Americans primarily occurred for illiteracy, tuberculosis, and trachoma, all common problems on the Wind River Reservation. During the war, the Arapahoe and Shoshone served in white units rather than segregated American Indian companies. Fighting in both the European and Pacific theatres, Wind River males experienced wounds, deaths and medals. At least one Arapahoe, Donald O'Neal, received a Bronze Star and wounds during his participation at Guam. Arapahoe Claude Goggles died at Leyte and his tribesman Chester Arthur was killed in Belgium. Three other Arapahoe, John Brown, William Trosper, and George Antelope also died in the war. The Shoshone lost Lee Wadda, Richard Pogue, Laverne Wagon and Sydney Bush. Arapahoe wounded in Europe included Ralph Plume, Robert Bell, Jesse Miller and Jason Rhodes. Frank Aragon, Arapahoe, was wounded in the Pacific, and Cyrus Roberts, Shoshone, sustained injuries in Italy.⁸

Shoshone and Arapahoe also contributed to agricultural and civilian defense work as an unknown number of tribesmen temporarily left the reservation. From 1942-1945 nationwide 40,000 Native Americans en-

⁴ "The Wind River Reservation," and Pamphlet "Arapahoe Ranch Operating Agreement," 1-2, Trenholm Papers, Box 3, Folder "Wind River Reservation."

⁵ For a review of the effect of World War II on Native American cultural traditions see Tom Holm, "Fighting the White Man's War: The Legacy of American Indians in World War II," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 9 (Summer, 1981), 69-81.

⁶ T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of

Nebraska Press, 1978), Chapter 16.

7 Ickes Order No.1636, January 14,1942, Record Group 70, Entry 12, Box 3819, Folder "War Resources," National Archives, Washington, D.C.; "Citizenship Act," *United States Statutes at Large*, 68th Cong, 1st Sess, 253, June 2,1924; "Nationality Act," *United States Statutes at Large*, 76th Cong, 3rd Sess, October 14,1940; "Estimated Indian Male Population" and "Indian Reservations," Record Group 147, Entry 1, Box 33, Folder "105.1 Indians-General, National Archives, Suitland, Maryland. For more information on military participation see Jere' Franco, "Bringing Them in Alive: Selective Service and Native Americans," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* (Vol.18, No.3, Fall, 1990), 1-27.

⁸ "American Indians Inducted into the Military," Record Group 147, Entry 1, Box 427, Folder "214. Indian Reservations," National Archives, Suitland, Maryland; "Selective Service in Wartime, 1941-1942," "Selective Service in Wartime, 1943-1944," and "Selective Service and Victory, 1944-1945," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942, 1945, 1948); "Indians in the War" (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, November, 1945), 11, 24, 41; J.R. McGibony, "Indians and Selective Service," *Public Health Reports* 57 (January 2,1942), 1-7.

tered the mainstream work force, and among these several Shoshone traveled to Clearfield, Utah to labor at the Naval Supply Depot. Along with Navajo, Pueblo, Apache, Sioux and Ute Indians, the Shoshone, who loaded and transported supplies, earned high praise as outstanding workers. Although the tribe failed to keep accurate statistics of those leaving the reservation, 1945 school population statistics revealed that out of 764 school-age children (aged six to eighteen) on the Wind River Reservation, a total of 118 or 18 percent were not enrolled in any public, reservation or mission school. Given the Indian Bureau's policy of mandatory school attendance for reservation children, this large number of unaccounted for children indicates the possibility that the parents may have temporarily left the reservation for short-term work.⁹

Obviously, the Wind River population of 1,346 Arapahoe and 1,351 Shoshone played an active role in the war. Tribal resources, however, both mineral and monetary, captured the government's interest and the media's attention. In an unprecedented effort, World War II stimulated a search for natural resources both in the private sector and on Indian reservations. In order to facilitate more efficient government access to reservation resources, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes transferred jurisdiction over reservations to Michael

Strauss, Director of the War Resources Board. During the war, the Indian Bureau secured 3,500 oil and gas leases on Indian reservations involving 11,400 oil wells, more than 35 tribes, and ten states:

Highlighting the program on Indian lands was the discovery of four new producing fields on the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming where production increased from 615,691 barrels of oil during the calendar year 1941 to 2,457,251 barrels in the fiscal year 1945. The most direct Wind River mineral contribution to the war was the fuel oil furnished to the Navy from the topping plant at Riverton, Wyoming. ¹⁰

Second only to the Blackfeet Tribe, which produced sixteen percent of Montana's oil, Wind River produced two percent of Wyoming oil and retained another two percent of state reserves.

Ironically, the contribution which gained the most publicity for the Wind River Reservation resulted from the Shoshone lawsuit against the United States. Native American purchases of war bonds and war stamps as well as tribal contributions to Red Cross and scrap metal drives particularly intrigued the American public. Many Indian groups who purchased government bonds from tribal assets or personal funds received publicity in local newspapers, the *New York Times*, magazine articles and the *Congressional Record*. The Shoshone received

all of this media attention when they first began to purchase war bonds which amounted to \$16,400 by

Wind River Reservation 1945 School Population Statistics

School	Children, 6-18
Public Day School	198
Government Day School	98
Mission Day School	305
Reservation Boarding School	0
Non-Reservation Boarding School	24
Mission Boarding School	12
Special School	6
Sanatoria	3
SUBTOTAL	646
Children, 6-18, not enrolled in sch	ool* 71
No information available*	47
TOTAL	764

^{*}Indicates the possibility that parents may have temporarily left the reservation for military duty, agricultural or defense work. Accounts for 118 children or 18 percent of the schoolage population.

⁹ Department of the Interior Pamphlet III. 38, Collection 5889. Emmie D. Mygatt Papers, Box 4, Folder "Pamphlets," American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming: "Beyond Reservation Boundaries: Native American Laborers in World War II," *Jour*nal of the Southwest (Vol. 36, No.3, Autumn, 1994), 242-254.

10 Indian Service Pamphlet III.
23, Mygatt Papers. Box 4, Folder "Pamphlets": "Oil Reserve on Indian Lands," Record Group 70, Bureau of Mines, Entry 12, Box 4465, National Archives, Suitland, Maryland; Indian Office History, Record Group 48, Entry 858, Box 7, Folder "Indian Office History," 77-78, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

June, 1942. In April, 1942 a Lander newspaper reported that "Shoshone Indian chieftains. . . had authorized the Department of the Interior to purchase a \$500 war bond for each of the 1,000 Shoshones living in the Wind River area from funds accruing to the tribe from interest in oil royalties." Because these oil royalties proved insufficient for this purchase, the tribe then requested that bonds be bought with the interest from their 1939 Judgment Fund. After the Indian Bureau explained that the Treasury Department already exercised authority to invest this interest and the money was unavailable, the tribe then tried another method. After a year-long negotiation process, on December 8, 1943, an agreement authorized the Secretary of the Interior to purchase United States Treasury Bonds, Series E, in the amount of five hundred dollars for each member of the Shoshone tribe. These funds, derived from the principal in the Judgment Fund, directly benefited the state of Wyoming as the Secretary of the Treasury received orders:

To grant permission to the county chairman of the war bond purchase program of Fremont County, Wyoming, in which county the Shoshone tribe resides, to include the total amount of bonds purchased for the members of said tribe in his quota of war bond sales. 11

At the war's end, it clearly appeared that the Shoshone and Arapahoe had interacted with mainstream society in ways beneficial to both American and tribal interests. Critics of reservation life and Commissioner Collier's assimilation on the reservation policy had predicted a nationwide exodus from Indian villages and a voluntary assimilation into mainstream American culture. Instead, in a move directly contradicting the Wyoming experience of a postwar population decrease, Native Americans returned to their reservations, including Wind River, in increasing numbers. While the postwar effects on the Wind River Reservation failed to alter the fundamental relationship between the tribes and mainstream society, traditional tribal roles, designated by sex and age, visibly changed. Male roles tended

11"Shoshone Buy War Bonds," New York Times, April 22,1942, 12:5; Congressional Record, 78 Cong, 1 Sess, 10432, December 8, 1943; United States Statutes at Large, 78 Cong, 1 Sess, December 23,1943, 623.

Farm Mobilization Day Set by F.D.R.

The White House disclosed Friday that President Rooseveit has proclaimed Tuesday, Jan. 12, as farm mobilization day, when meetings will be held to consider means of "insuring for the year 1943 the maximum production of vital foods."

He called farmers, OB wherever possible, to gather that day with department of arriculture representatives, extension service agents, vocational teachers, state officials, farm organizations and others concerned.

reat Reminds Nurse Of Wyoming Wilds

Nurse Lois Bright of the Chiago Tribune will receive a native ago Tribune will receive a native nk-well and penholder fashioned (i) R. M. Treat from a length of origepole pine, varnished to ring out the natural grain. Miss Bright apent her vacation with the Treats last summer. She and drs. Treat were roommates and lassmates and received their R. I. degrees together. Miss Bright ns contact with the editor's slant or the last Miss Herma Clark, fear-in-law. Miss Herma Clark, fear-in-law. Miss Herma Clark, fear-in-law. Miss Herma Clark, fear-in-law. r-in-law, Miss Herma Clark, foaure writer on the Tribune, and hey enjoy talking about trips to he Lander valley—a topic of he Lander valley-

THE DOMANTED

EVERY SINGLE ARAPAHOE ENLISTS FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM IN AMERICA

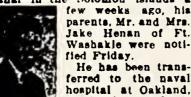
Every unmarried Arapahoe Indian of the Wind River Indian reservation is in or tried to get in the armed forces of their coun-try—54 of them with 52 in uniform and two rejected for slight disability and awaiting the natur-al course of the draft. Many of Many of them are in combat zones in the thickest of the fight.

Arapahoe people swell with pride in the sacrifices they have Parents pruy daily for the safety of their boys in service, going to the Episcopal and Catholic missions with fervent devotion to the Christian religion. One father whose three sons are in uniform spends much of his time alone out-of-doors praying, he says, praying for the success of the Allies and the freedom of all

peoples.
Two Arapahoes are commis-

Shoshone Indian Boy Wounded in Battle

Bennie Earl Henan, star football and basket ball player on last year's FCVHS teams suffered wounds in the battle of Guadacanal in the Solomon islands a



Calfornia. and making satisfactory progress, naval officers report.

Marine Corps Favorite Branch of Service

aloned officers, Lieut. James Washington' of Arapahoe and Lieut. Arnold Headley of Ethete. Chester Smith, Herrett and Gord-on Brown are in the Solomons, serving in the marines. This type of warfare fita perfectly into the hereditary pattern of the Indians and is proving very effective in outwitting the atrategy of the Japs. Paul Hanway.

a former bustness council member and whose ancestry and name atems from the French and related to the Hanways, publishers of the Casper Tribune-lierald, has a son Francis who recently had a harrowing He bailed out for a experience. parachute jump, counted ten, pulled the cord and nothing happened. The 'chute did not open and he was headed for the deep blue ocean like a rocket. He jerked the auxiliary for the second chute. It worked, but he was so close to the water he hit with one awful splash. His broth William Hanway is manager of the ARAPAHOES ENLIST— Page 8

Turkey Prices Pay Producers Profit

Fount Slinkard Here Home on Furlough



Slinkard is hom Pvt. Fount Cump Carson (Coloradi Springs) visiting his parents and many friends. The furiough extends to near New Years, justifive minutes before midnight and no foolin'. He does the cook job and dished out hotcakes for 240 men with another greenborn cool he says, one morning. his work better than field, has plenty of eats any time

Turkey growers of Fremont county will realize the highest re-

These articles appeared in the Wyoming State Journal (Lander), Dec. 24, 1942, p. 1.

to be reinforced and further defined by the experience; on the other hand expanded and, in a trend begun in the thirties, became more assertive and independent. 12

Since early reservation days, Arapahoe and Shoshone males had continued to practice many traditions and customs deriving from their Plains experience. Arapahoe and Shoshone tribesmen validated status, historical continuity, and authority through such ceremonies as the "giveaway," the Sacred Pipe, and the Sun Dance. On the reservation, however, tribesmen endeavored to subsume these traditions under the appearance of assimilation in order to maintain their culture. According to sociologist Loretta Fowler, over a period of time "customs offensive to white authorities were disguised in ways that made those practices appear 'progressive' and therefore acceptable to whites." World War II offered an ideal opportunity to sanction one of the most threatening of Plains Indian ceremonies, the Sun Dance. 13

Nationwide the particularly militaristic character of the war contributed to a resurgence of Native American wartime rituals which in turn reinforced the status of military men or warriors on the reservations. During the war, tribes celebrated the military induction of young men and women with "Giveaway" ceremonies, sent corn for religious ceremonies to soldiers, and wove the names of absent loved ones into blankets. Military men, usually from several different tribes, themselves often performed impromptu war dances for their units, counted "coup" on dead enemy, and cut notches on their rifles in lieu of adding feathers to a warbonnet. Although returning Navajo underwent the "Blessing" or "Enemy Way" to cleanse themselves of contact with the outside world, most tribes preferred to celebrate the victory by sending peace pipes to the president or holding a tribal dance. In Oklahoma the Osage held a Victory Dance and in Arizona the Tohono O'odham held memorial services, but on most reservations the dance most closely associated with American victory was the Sun Dance. Practiced by tribes as diverse as the Hunkpapa Sioux in South Dakota, and the Shoshone and Arapahoe on the Wind River Reservation, the Sun Dance became immediately acceptable to white observers for two reasons. First, tribes proved that they highly valued their returning veterans by giving them marked preference in the ceremonies, and second, tribes prominently displayed the American flag during the dances. 14

In 1946 the Wind River Reservation held their first postwar Sun Dance "in honor of the returning soldiers." The idea quickly spread to neighboring reservations, including the Ute Reservation at Fort Hall, Idaho, and the Crow Reservation at Fish Lake Valley. Through-

out the decades, tribesmen had performed the dance for both religious and social reasons, but after the war tribes incorporated American military traditions into the ceremony. "The only difference in form from the regular Sun Dance," observed anthropologist J. A. Jones in 1955, "is that an American flag is raised each morning and lowered each evening during the Victory Dance, while no ceremony of this sort occurs in the regular Sun Dance." Furthermore, tribal elders preferred participants who were young, full-blood, and war veterans. The significance of the dance increased the status of the elders as well. For the Arapahoe after the war "the role of Sun Dance chief formally became one of the most important positions in the ceremonial hierarchy." Additionally, veterans displayed an eagerness which challenged the elders' leadership role when they formed American Legion Posts named after Trosper Redman at Ethete and Arthur Antelope Brown at Lower Arapahoe. Rather than resisting these changes, tribal elders welcomed the transformations contending that the formation of 'sodalities" or posts 'worked for the benefit of the tribe."15

Although male status and leadership continued to accrue from traditional involvement in military experience and political office, female status and leadership achieved new definition through previously forbidden pursuits such as political participation and economic attainment. These new roles for women signified a trend introduced in the 1900s by various functions of the Indian Bureau and exacerbated by the wartime lack of male supervision. Exhibiting independence and assertiveness, however, did not portend a female desire to usurp male authority. Instead argued scholar Michelle De Riso who conducted field work among Shoshone women in 1968, "the position of women in contemporary, Shoshone society has been achieved through the development of new roles derived from the surrounding white society and not through the assumption of male functions by women."16

13 Fowler, Arapahoe Politics, 4.

¹⁵ Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics*, 215, 221; J.A. Jones, "The Sun Dance of the Northern Ute," Mygatt Papers, Box 4, Folder "Pamphlets."

¹² Franco, "Publicity, Persuasion and Propaganda," 184.

¹⁴ Holm, "Fighting the White Man's War," 75; Franco, "Publicity, Persuasion, and Propaganda," 177-180; Henry Dobyns Fieldnotes, Collection 478-C, October 22,1949, Interview with Indian Service Employees, Arizona State Museum, Tucson, Arizona; James Howard, "The Dakota Indian Victory Dance; World War II," *North Dakota History*, 31-40.

¹⁶ Michelle De Riso, "The Changing Role of Shoshone Women on the Wind River Reservation," 1, Collection 9942, Boris D. Shimkin Papers, Box 7, Folder 1.

Prior to the reservation period, Shoshone females followed traditional Plains practices of domestic chores and childrearing, leaving economic and political roles to males. Only elderly women achieved recognition for "crafts, midwifery or shamanism." Although Shoshone women possessed no female societies, Arapahoe women could claim membership in the Buffalo Lodge. The highest attainment available to elderly women derived from ownership of one of the seven tribal medicine bags. Renowned for their skill in porcupine-quill work and tipi painting, these female priests wove symbolic designs representing "prayers" on cradle boards, robes or tipis. By 1900, however, these traditions disappeared in the aftermath of the controversy over the 1890 resurgence of the Ghost Dance. 17

After the turn of the century, female roles, like male authority, began to deteriorate on the reservation. Few traditional activities remained. Among both tribes women served in auxiliary roles during the Sun Dance which resurfaced on reservations in 1923. Furthermore, women continued to perform a stabilizing influence on tribal mores by acting as official gossips and critics. "The elderly women were still effective in deterring misconduct," claimed Fowler, "because any man who behaved in an unseemly manner could be sure of being ridiculed and publicly embarrassed by them." 18

Lacking guidance in this historic vacuum, women now turned to white institutions, particularly the lndian Bureau and the church, as outlets for creativity and productivity. Sodalities, a white organization created to substitute for tribal lodges, proved quite popular. In 1912, among the Arapahoe, St. Stephen's Catholic Church established the first sodality for both men and women. Several other sodalities were formed in the 1920s. Female functions included fundraising through the sale of quilts and decorating graves on holy days. Beginning in 1892, religious activities also affected Shoshone women as the Fort Washakie Episcopal Church introduced such innovations as a church choir, a Women's Guild, and Sunday School, all led by women who dominated the church attendance. Fundraising again occupied prime importance as Shoshone women learned to operate concession stands at their annual Sun Dance. These fundraising activities provided vital economic lessons for women and continued after the war when women formed auxiliaries to male veterans organizations. 19

The Indian Bureau also encouraged participation and achievement for Indian women primarily through the extension service. Until 1933, when Depressionsponsored jobs such as Works Progress Administration provided off-reservation employment, extension agents promoted farming and stockraising among the Shoshone. Paralleling their religious activities, females predominated in the program, winning the most prizes and holding the most offices in 4-H Clubs. The extension program was discontinued by the Indian Bureau after 1933, but Shoshone Suzette Wagon unofficially resurrected it during the war. A former 4-H member, Wagon began an arts and crafts association to teach beadwork and rugmaking to other Shoshone women with the purpose of selling their crafts. Wagon succeeded in supporting herself with this endeavor until 1955 when she was hired by the University of Wyoming Extension Program. ²⁰

In the middle of the twentieth century, Arapahoe and Shoshone women had clearly advanced in economic independence. Drawing on their traditional skills and aided by such white-enforced developments as education, extracurricular activities, an improved transportation system, and government aid, tribal women clearly felt empowered enough to enter yet another realm, that of politics. As women became more confident in their ability to contribute to the family income, this confidence translated into a desire and need to assume control over tribal decisions which affected their family income. From 1939 to 1947 Shoshone Maud Clairmont, educated at Normal Teachers College, gained a seat on the business council. Clairmont represented the Shoshone in patent and fee interests, advocated for damages from the government in the Tunnison claim and in 1947 represented the tribe at a Congressional committee hearing. Similarly, Wagon served in the Business Council from 1959 to 1963, helping to settle lease disputes and plotting tribal assignments for ranch operations.²¹

Among this generation, however, Arapahoe Nell Scott eclipsed all other council members, male and female, both for her longevity and her accomplishments. Serving from 1937-1964, as both council member and chairman, Scott represented a "marginal" Indian, one who had been raised and educated in a white community, married a white man, and was unable to speak or

¹⁷ Fowler, Arapahoe Politics, 45, 112.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁹ DeRiso, "Changing Role," 17-18; Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics* 163

tics, 163. 20 De Riso, "Changing Role," 15-16, 29. The author identifies these women only with initials.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 27-29.

practice Arapahoe language and customs. Despite this marginality, throughout her career she battled to protect Indian rights, to improve conditions for children and the elderly, and to gain per capita payments for the Arapahoes. Finally, in 1954, she successfully halted a termination attempt against Wind River Reservation by telling congressmen, "We got a lot of old people that isn't educated. Why don't you let it go for awhile."²²

Two events made it possible for these women to make inroads into the male-dominated world of politics. First, the Depression put enormous pressure on males to fulfill their primary function as breadwinner, often leaving them little time for their secondary function as political leaders. Thus, in the late 1930s, a small wedge opened for women who, trained through church sodalities, extension programs, and educational institutions to achieve and lead, managed to get three women on the business council.

Second, the war further exacerbated this trend by depleting the reservation of educated young men who otherwise might have competed for these positions. Through the 1940s, the Wind River reservation women experienced either first-hand or second-hand much of the changes wrought by the war. Furthermore, they passed along a raised consciousness and heightened sense of expectation to the next generation which manifested itself in a desire for higher education, a greater involvement in tribal affairs, and a willingness to work with surrounding communities. Observing many of these young women in the 1960s, De Riso concluded that "education and capabilities, rather than sex and age" had become the criteria for leadership.²³

Thus the war significantly altered the tribal infrastructure in several ways. While elderly men welcomed the assumption of leadership roles by younger military veterans, males and females more cautiously accepted the assumption of leadership roles by women. Furthermore, the war tended to reinforce separatism and solidarity as witnessed by the segregated military veteran organizations and the successful rejection of a Congressional attempt to terminate the Indians from federal guardianship.

Finally, population figures from 1945 to 1950 diminished by only 350, hardly the immense reservation exodus predicted by Indian Bureau critics. Although the Wind River Reservation participated wholeheartedly in the nation's war effort, this effort failed to translate into a wholehearted acceptance of American society. Nell Scott summed up the disillusionment felt by many tribal members when she told a Congressional Committee hearing, "Our boys fought for freedom, they fought for democracy, and yet when they come home, they find their parents starving or half starved." 24

The Arapahoe and Shoshone had proved they could "go the distance" and still return home.

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²² Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics*, 182-185, 210. The Termination Acts of the 1950s ended federal guardianship over tribes determined to be responsible enough to handle tribal affairs without government supervision. Many of these tribes suffered severe financial setbacks because of this policy.

²³ De Riso, "Changing Role," 35.

²⁴ Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics*, 204. Population figures fell from 2,697 in 1945 to 2,343 in 1950. "Resident Population on Indian Reservations 1950" and "Indian Population in Continental United States 1945", Mygatt Papers, Box 4, Folder "Pamphlets."

The attack on Pearl Harbor was a defining moment in American History. Possibly the single emotion that best describes how most Americans felt in the hours following the bombing of Pearl Harbor was fear, but anger soon replaced fear. Japanese Americans could only hope that the anger would not be directed toward them. In the disquieting days that followed the attack on Hawaii, Japanese railroad workers in Wyoming lost their jobs. Worried about their future, Japanese parents tried to shelter their children from the problems facing them; but the tensions following the outbreak of war



By A. Dudley Gardner

and then the loss of their jobs could not be hidden. Anxiety soon seized their children. What happened in the months following the falling bombs affected both children and adults and can be best understood through the eyes of a child and the actions of their elders.

For all children there was a sense of not knowing what was happening. For some Japanese children, the fear became compounded by the knowledge that they might have to leave the railroad camps they lived in. For other Japanese children, the dread of not knowing what they faced if they stayed in Wyoming spawned great apprehension. One young girl who experienced these emotions lived in Kemmerer. Fortunately, Yoshiye Tanaka left a record of how she felt and reacted to the news that Japan had attacked an American Island in the Pacific.

Yoshiye Tanaka's description of how she felt pro-

vides a teenager's perspective of the day following Pearl Harbor. She writes:

An event which took place on Sunday, December 7, 1941, now referred to as "Pearl Harbor Day," suddenly awakened our family to the realities of war. Up to that point, Hitler's and Mussolini's reign of terror in Europe all were news items which we discussed in our elassrooms at school. I recall that in 1939 while in the sixth grade, we talked about the Allied troops invading Germany and from which direction the allied troops would accomplish this. A red-tagged pin on our map of Europe indicated a northerly invasion; a blue-tagged pin a southerly invasion; and a white-tagged pin indicated the invasion would come from the Beaches of Normandy. The reality of it all hit home when on the opposite side of the world, Japan bombed Pearl Harbor that infamous Sunday morning. I can still recall the words of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt that following Monday morning, December 8, 1941: War had been declared against Japan!

Three of us girls were still in school; my older sister was in the tenth grade; myself in the eighth; and my younger sister in the sixth. My two older brothers had graduated from Kemmerer High School in 1939 and in 1940, respectively, and were employed. My parents still operated the tailoring establishment. We girls were full of apprehension and very frightened, too, to go to sehool that Monday morning. Would the kids still like us since we were of Japanese extraction? That Sunday evening, we all experienced a frightful, sleepless, and worrisome time of our lives. It never occurred to us that our parents were perhaps even more terrified, since they were not citizens of the United States. Asians were barred from citizenship, and it was not until the passage of the Walter-McCarran Act in 1956 that eitizenship was finally being offered. My two older brothers and my father were out rabbit hunting that Sunday, quite unaware of the happenings of the day on the Hawaiian shores. The remembranee of that day is still held in our memories. We do not know why, but to this day, the thought of rabbit meat is repulsive to us. Were we somehow blaming the poor little rabbits for that infamous day, blocking out the true reality of that day?

Monday morning, I recall our superintendent of schools calling an assembly of all students from the seventh grade through the twelfth grade. Our superintendent said that the United States of America was finally at war. The word war brought home to us all that we were not talking about the people of a continent half way around the world. Indeed, we were addressing people right here' who were not caught up in the war. Our superintendent empha-

sized that our Kemmerer school was made up of people from every corner of the earth, and that because we were at war with Germany and Italy and now Japan, it did not mean that we were at war with one another here in Kemmerer, Wyoming; that we continue to live and work in harmony with one another. It was so beautifully said then that these words still remain with me. ¹

For a 13-year old girl named Yoshiye Tanaka, war had come to Wyoming. Being in a minority group means fearing isolation and rejection not because of any personality traits, but because one is different from everyone else. The outbreak of World War II clearly isolated Japanese Americans. In more ways than one, this 13-year-old girl took a heroic step when she left her home to go to school on December 8, 1941. For the Japanese living in Wyoming, isolation was compounded by mixed feelings of loyalty to Japan and to the United States, and many did not understand why Japan had attacked Pearl Harbor. For a 13-year-old girl walking to school on that Monday morning in 1941, the attack meant facing an unknown future in a nation that suddenly was at war with her distant relatives in Japan. Courage is not measured in men alone, but in a lone Japanese female heading toward a classroom where she was the only Japanese student.

Yoshiye and her sister Trudy Tanaka felt themselves to be "strictly Americans," and their allegiance was to the United States. They were born here, lived here, and were loyal to the United States.² For people born in Japan who had moved to America to work in the western United States and Canada, mixed emotions were not uncommon. Some returned to Japan; others stayed and were loyal eitizens to the United States and Canada. Those who ehose to stay in western Canada or the lower forty-eight states clearly showed the independent minded nature of the Japanese. Some men in the United States enlisted in the 442nd while others refused to take loyalty oaths. Similar sentiments emerged to the north where some Japanese swore allegiance to Canada, while others refused to sever their devotion to "The Land of the Rising Sun."

The onset of World War II greatly affected Japanese immigrants and their families throughout Canada and the United States. Both nations removed people of Japanese descent from the Pacific Coast and placed

[†] Yoshiye Tanaka, "No Brand Name: Homade." Ms. on file, Western Wyoming College, Department of History, 10-11.

² Personal interview with Trudy Tanaka, Kemmerer, Wyoming, November 25, 1991.

them in internment camps in Alberta, Canada, and the Intermountain West. It was a time of racial isolation, but it was also a period when people like the Tanakas continued to work and support the United States through their individual efforts. The prejudice fed by the bombing of Pearl Harbor was not new. Opposition to Japanese immigration surfaced soon after their arrival in the United States.

The majority of the Japanese first came to Wyoming as railroad workers and coal miners around the turn of the century. One of the first indications that Japanese were living and working in Wyoming is found on a tombstone in Rock Springs. While census takers apparently overlooked the presence of the Japanese in Wyoming in 1890, an unnamed Japanese individual died in Rock Springs in 1890. The tombstone, coupled with the fact that Wyoming newspapers began recording the presence of Japanese immigrants on the West Coast and elsewhere, suggests that the Japanese reached Wyoming in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

By 1900, Japanese immigrants were employed in Wyoming mines and worked for the railroads. Turnof-the-century Wyoming newspapers describe the Japanese as both a curiosity and a potential source of trouble. This was a view most westerners held towards Chinese immigrants as well. In the minds of many late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Wyoming residents, it was hard to separate the two distinctively different nationalities. Yet Wyoming newspapers did provide reports about the Japanese that suggest there was an awareness of the distinctive characteristics of the people from The Land of the Rising Sun. While the reports are mixed, the newspaper writers did not seem in favor of Japanese emigrating to the United States. The Cheyenne Daily Leader, in terms reflecting its attitude toward immigrants, reported in May, 1900, "Japs Cause Trouble." "[T]he installment of Japanese laborers along the [Union Pacific] line is causing great dissatisfaction." The article contends "the working classes depreciate the importation of foreigners who work for almost nothing." Two days later the Leader ran an article claiming: "No small amount of alarm is experienced by track men along the line of the Union Pacific over the action of that road in importing Japanese laborers for section men, work trains and other lines of rough work."

Along the Oregon Shortline, "an affiliated line of the Union Pacific . . .1,000 Japanese laborers" were employed.⁴ Of those employed, 160 worked in Evanston. Fearful of losing their jobs, numerous railroad workers complained about the arrival of Japanese workers. "In most places" the Japanese railroad work-

ers were "displac[ingj Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes at \$1.65 per day." While these Scandinavian workers were earning little, the Japanese worked for less at only \$1.15 per day. The Japanese were employed throughout southern Wyoming. 5 Some contended that the Japanese were "paid about one-half as much as white men" and labor contractors were paid "a fat commission by the railroad company" for obtaining the services of these Asian immigrants. 6

In spite of protests, the number of Japanese railroad workers and coal miners increased slowly. Many in Wyoming began to accept the presence of Japanese workers. This acceptance came about, in part, due to

- ³ Cheyenne Daily Leader, May 6, 1900.
- ⁴ Daily Sun Leader, May 8, 1900.
- ⁵ Daily Sun Leader, May 8, 1900, 2.
- ⁶ Daily Sun Leader, May 13, 1900.



The Japanese in communities throughout southwest Wyor came together to celebrate New Years, the Emperors Birt Day, and for special events such as the Japanese counsel.

their generous festivals and their work ethic. The festivals, held on the emperor's birthday, were celebrated region-wide. In Kemmerer, Rock Springs, and Oakley, the residents enjoyed festivals and free food provided by Japanese immigrants. The *Kemmerer Camera* reported in 1902 that at Oakley, Japanese coal miners celebrated "their emperor's birthday by giving a varied program of sports on the company grounds last Sunday. The games were well organized" and "were chiefly Japanese such as wrestling in oriental style." The reporter noted "the generous hospitality with which the guests were entertained will long be remembered."

Of course, like many so-called "newcomers," some of the Japanese found the weather in Wyoming less than favorable and chose to seek employment elsewhere. One section boss near Kemmerer reported his entire Japanese section gang had quit on him. Like so



visit to Rock Springs. Such celebrations helped create a sense of community among the Japanese in Wyoming Nakako Collection, Western Wyoming College)

many other workers new to Wyoming, "they said it was too cold here and they [were] going to a warmer country."

While prejudices were evident and most coal mining towns forced the Japanese to live in separate communities, an amazing degree of acceptance by many other immigrants living and working in the coal towns of Wyoming was evident. Most Japanese workers came to Wyoming as contract laborers. Like immigrants from other counties, their contract wage was low. Most worked in the coal mines. In southwest Wyoming, both Kemmerer Coal and Union Pacific Coal Company actively recruited Japanese miners. These miners, because of their low contract wages, eventually joined labor unions. As a result, Japanese miners were more readily accepted by other miners.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the most powerful corporation in southwestern Wyoming, the Union Pacific, began actively recruiting Japanese immigrants to work in the company's coal mines and on its railroad. This policy, combined with the fact that the Union Pacific actively recruited immigrants from all over Europe, meant there would be a diverse population in the coal camps of southern Wyoming. In 1899, the number of Japanese the Union Pacific Coal Company hired increased dramatically. Soon, other coal companies followed Union Pacific's lead and by 1910, most large coal camps in southwestern Wyoming had sizable Japanese communities. These Asian immigrants were forced to live in company-owned housing isolated along the fringes of coal mining communities. In addition to the steady rise in the number of Japanese employed in Union Pacific's coal mines, the number working as section hands on the railroads also increased. Here, in the section camps, the Japanese often found themselves isolated from their co-workers in both housing and work assignments. In spite of this discrimination, Japanese coal miners and railroad workers became part of the communities of southwestern Wyoming.

In the coal and railroad camps throughout the state, Japanese men and women dreamed of becoming shop-keepers, entrepreneurs, and craftsmen; and while their visions of upward mobility often met with resistance stemming from prejudice against Asian immigrants, many attained their goals. However, the Japanese desire for opportunity often came up against the stone wall of prejudice. The Union Pacific, as the largest employer in southwestern Wyoming, did little to lessen prejudice. A brief look at the Union Pacific's hiring of

⁷ Kemmerer Camera, November, 1902.

⁸ Kemmerer Camera, April 19, 1902.

⁹ Kemmerer Camera, November 10, 1915.

Japanese coal miners is enlightening in regard to how this prejudice developed.

On April 22, 1899, a newspaper in Rawlins, Wyoming, ran an article stating:

The Union Pacific [Coal Company] is now trying Japanese miners at Rock Springs. If they prove a success, several hundred will be employed. The company claims it cannot get sufficient employees from other nationalities to get out the amount of coal that they desire. ¹⁰

Within a year, 259 Japanese lived in the railroad and coal camps of Sweetwater County. ¹¹ By 1909, there were 436 Japanese immigrants in the county. ¹² Most of the Japanese were initially employed as miners and railroad workers, but some later became shopkeepers, restaurant owners, professional photographers and artists. ¹³ One account illustrates why Japanese immigrants sought jobs in other fields outside the coal mines:

[My dad] come over to this country about 1906, I believe: [he went to] Seattle, Washington. He was a cook for a long time. I don't know what year he come over [to Rock Springs], but he started to work in the coal mine. I guess he was a track layer and shoveled coal—all inside the mine. Gosh, I think he got buried once. The coal come down and sealed it. After that he come out of there and said, "No more" It didn't hurt him, but he was buried. It was a kind of spooky experience for him. It would be for me too; I'd get out of there. So that's why he went into business [for himself]. ¹⁴

It was in the coal mines, however, that the largest numbers of Japanese were employed. Adjacent to the larger coal mining towns, such as Superior, Hanna, Frontier, and Rock Springs, so-called "Japanese Towns" evolved. Segregated Japanese villages appear on numerous turn-of-the-century mine and railroad maps indicating widespread segregation. A 1907 map of Superior in Sweetwater County, for example, shows a Japanese community separate from the rest of the mining camp. 15 Photographs and oral histories from this period also indicate that separate Japanese communities were built in Rock Springs, Hanna, Frontier, and Reliance. All of these communities are located in southwestern Wyoming, but coal camps such as Acme, near Sheridan, in northern Wyoming, also had separate Japanese towns that were purposely constructed away from the rest of the mining community.

At section camps along the Union Pacific mainline in southwestern Wyoming, quarters for Japanese appear on turn-of-the-century railroad maps. The number of people living in these section camps varied between eight and fourteen people. By 1900, many section camps were primarily made up of Japanese workers. The majority of the section camps in Sweetwater County consisted of no less than 40 percent Japanese. 16 By 1920, the number of Japanese nationals living in southwestern Wyoming began to decline, but the role they played in maintaining the railroad remained significant. 17 Several Japanese worked their way up the ladder and became section foremen or obtained better

¹⁰ Carbon County Journal, Rawlins, Wyoming, April 22, 1899, 3. Union Pacific had a conscious policy of hiring diverse nationalities. Dyer Clark, Union Pacific's principal manager for coal operations, wrote to his supervisor in Omaha on August 10, 1900: "Every possible care is taken to keep nationalities mixed and not allow any nationality to predominate, and no member of a labor organization is knowingly employed. If by accident we get one, he is dropped on first indication. The organizers who were trying to organize the miners at Rock Springs made a failure." D. O. Clark to H. G. Burt, August 10, 1900, Nebraska State Museum and Archives, Lincoln (UPRR Co. Ms 3761, 5G2, Serial, Box 128, Folder 337). D. O. Clark had previously written a letter to Horace G. Burt, April 26, 1899, claiming, "There are no signs of organization [labor unions] among the Rock Springs men and 1 think we can head off any attempt at organization by gradually increasing the number of Japanese and [black] miners. Have more confidence in the Jap than I have in the [Black] men." D. O. Clark to H. G. Burt, April 26, 1899, Nebraska State Museum and Archives, Lincoln (UPRR Co. Ms 3761, 5G2, Series 1, Box 127,

11 Twelfth Census of the United States 1900, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1901).

12 Census of Wyoming, 1905. Office of the Secretary of State

of Wyoming, (Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1905).

13 Personal interview with Mike August, Rock Springs, Wyoming, 1989 (Ms. on file, Archaeological Services of Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs). August's family was in partnership with two different Japanese men in the photographic business. George Matsura was Charles August's partner until Matsura died in 1935. Personal interview with George Okano, Rock Springs, Wyoming, 1989 (Ms. on file Archaeological Services of Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs).

¹⁴ Personal interview with George Okano, Rock Springs, Wyoming, 1984. (Ms on file, Archaeological Services of Western

Wyoming College, Rock Springs).

15 Personal interview with Edith Sunada, Green River, Wyoming, 1986 (Ms. on file, Archaeological Services of Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs). Personal interviews with Frank Dernovich, Mike Duzik, Eugene Paoli, Norma Paoli, Antone Pivik, and Amy Pivik, Rock Springs, Wyoming, 1984 (Ms. on file, Archaeological Services of Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs). Union Pacific files, Superior, (Ms. on file, Archaeological Services of Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs), Boxes 1-5.

16 Twelfth Census of the United States 1900, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1922).

17 Fourteenth Census of the United States 1920, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1922).

jobs as suppliers to the various section camps; while others became engine repairman - - a job requiring a greater amount of technical skill.

The period between 1900 and 1940 was marked by fluctuations in the number of Japanese living in the region. This inconsistency was probably due to the harsh physical environment and to changes in the economic climate of the area; it does not appear, however, that the fluctuations in population were the result of intense racial prejudice. For example, from all accounts, the Japanese in southwest Wyoming fared better than the Chinese who preceded them. While racial prejudice was evident, it was of a more subtle variety than the Chinese experienced in earlier years. Yet, despite a relatively stable racial environment, the number of Japanese in Uinta, Lincoln and Sweetwater counties fell from the 436 in 1905 to 187 in 1940. Is

World War II brought increased racial tension for the Japanese of the region. Possibly due to the diverse ethnic make-up of Rock Springs, where the largest number of Japanese lived, the prejudice resulting from the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, while evident, did not manifest itself in the extremes that marked other parts of the country. Nonetheless, in Rock Springs as well as elsewhere in the state, prejudice arose in numerous ways.

Immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the Japanese, Italian, and German "aliens" in Rock Springs and the surrounding area were ordered to register with local authorities. The Rock Springs Daily Rocket chronicled this registration, concentrating on the Japanese population in Sweetwater County. 19 Among the first to register were the Japanese miners. Only four days after Pearl Harbor, the paper reported: "Officers said the registration had been orderly and that no disturbances had occurred. All Japanese are being urged to stay at home and avoid public places as much as possible for the present time."20 Two days later the Union Pacific Railroad ordered time-keepers in Rock Springs to "freeze all paychecks of Japanese nationals."21 In the weeks between December 7, 1941, and February 13, 1942, circumstances seemingly beyond anyone's control led to Japanese families being removed from their homes along the Union Pacific Railroad.

Beginning on December 8, Union Pacific officials and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents began to correspond about the possibility of sabotage being initiated by Japanese nationals working for the railroad. Not only did the Union Pacific begin to make plans to layoff Japanese workers due to this perceived threat, but the Southern Pacific and Western Pacific railroads also took steps toward firing their Japanese

employees. On December 10, Colonel W. T. Bals, writing from the Seventh Army Corps Area Office in Omaha, informed William M. Jeffers, president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, that the company should place the Japanese employed by the railroad under careful observation and report any suspicious individuals to the FBL²² On February 13, 1942, Jeffers sent a letter to J. Edgar Hoover informing him "we are removing Japanese from assignments where they might be in a position to cause trouble...."23 Southern Pacific and Western Pacific railroads soon followed suit. In March, 1942, the military issued Public Proclamation No.2, prohibiting all Japanese Americans from being within the vicinity of bridges, tunnels, and railroad facilities, which effectively prevented any reemployment of Japanese Americans by the railroad companies. ²⁴ The newspapers in southern Wyoming chronicled the events leading to the Friday the 13th removal of the Japanese railroad workers.

In the railroad towns along the Union Pacific mainline, similar articles appeared. For example, headlines in the Green River Star for December 12, 1941, read: "Japanese Aliens in Sweetwater County Are Ordered to Register." Governor Nels H. Smith issued the order on Monday, December 8 and by Tuesday, in Sweetwater County "45 foreign-born Japanese were registered, 37 from the Rock Springs area and eight from Green River with two more, one from each community being registered Wednesday."25 The registration order "did not affect American-born Japanese who automatically are citizens of the United States." The order also "directed that migration of such aliens be prohibited"meaning "enemy aliens" could not leave the communities where they lived.²⁶ By December 19, 250 "Alien Japanese" had registered in Sweetwater County.²⁷ Intriguingly, more Japanese lived in Sweetwater County in 1941 than in the entire area in 1940. In Carbon County, 33 "Alien Japanese" regis-

¹⁸ Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942)

¹⁹ Rock Springs Daily Rocket, (Rock Springs, Wyoming), December 10, 1941, 1.

²⁰ Rock Springs Daily Rocket, December 11, 1941, 1. 21 Rock Springs Daily Rocket, December 13, 1941, 1.

²² W.T. Bals to President, Union Pacific Railroad, December 10, 1941, (Ms on file Western Wyoming College, Japanese in World War II file).

²³ W. M. Jeffers to J. Edgar Hoover, February 13,1942, (Ms on file Western Wyoming College, Japanese in World War II file).

²⁴ Los Angeles Daily News, September 3,1995.

²⁵ Green River Star, December 12,1941, 1. 26 Green River Star, December 12, 1941, 1.

²⁷ Green River Star, December 19,1941, 1.

tered.²⁸ "Out of Wyoming's 23 counties there [were] six which had no Alien Japanese...." The registration for "each county shows, Laramie, 103; Lincoln, 31; Albany, 21; Sheridan,18; Park, 11; Fremont, 10; Hot Springs, 7; Converse, 6; Natrona, 5; Big Horn, 2; and one for Campbell, Uinta and Johnson Counties." The counties through which the Union Pacific Railroad passed contained the greatest number of "Japanese Aliens."

In addition to Japanese registration, Italians and Germans were soon required to obtain certificates of identification. An article in the *Rock Springs Daily Rocket* on February 7, titled "500 Alien Enemies Are Expected to Register in Springs Before February 18," notified these nationalities that they would have to carry identification cards with photographs on them. ³⁰ A later article, published February 26, claimed that there were not 500 aliens in Sweetwater County; but this article was published after the removal of the Japanese from their homes along the Union Pacific mainline. ³¹ On February 13, "all Japanese nationals employed by the Union Pacific Railroad in the area were dismissed." ³²

Since the Japanese all lived in housing owned by the railroad, termination of their jobs also meant the loss of their homes. The removal from their homes came on the heels of nearly two months of pressure to do something about the Japanese living in southern Wyoming. Step by step the journey toward removal overtook reason until the inevitable point of no return was reached.

In early January, 1942, German, Italian and Japanese aliens had been ordered to turn in their radios, arms and cameras to peace officers. Of particular concern were short wave radios. Radios having short wave receiving sets had to be turned in unless the short wave portion was completely dismantled so that messages could not be received. Sweetwater County Sheriff M. J. Dankowski also ordered that any alien having ammunition or explosives had to surrender them immediately.³³ The Denver field offices for the FBI issued similar orders to law enforcement agencies throughout Wyoming.³⁴ In most cases, Japanese "Enemy Aliens" turned in the prohibited items voluntarily.³⁵ The primary concern was sabotage to the mainline, although this fear turned out to be unfounded.

On February 5, a sabotage attempt on the Union Pacific mainline came under investigation in Cheyenne. The *Rock Springs Daily Rocket* stated, "Special agents investigated tonight an apparent plot to wreck transcontinental passenger [trains] operating on Union Pacific's mainline between Chicago and California." Reportedly, "railroad ... spikes had been removed from

two sections of the U.P.'s mainline rails" at Archer. seven miles east of Cheyenne. "The sabotaged mainline tracks ... carry passenger, freight and military traffic between Chicago and the west coast, [and] were discovered by a track walker."³⁶ The very next day, Laverne H. Nickodemus, a "26-year-old Union Pacific shop worker ... admitted ... a plot to sabotage the railroad's mainline" at Archer. His plan was not to hurt the "American War Effort" but instead he wanted to "get a big reward by pretending to discover the sabotaged rails...."37 The Laramie Republican and Boomerang, reported that Nickodemus at first contended the spikes had been removed by "mysterious strangers."38 In light of the events surrounding the reported sabotage attempt at Archer, the letter written by Jeffers and dated February 13, is interesting as he contends: "We are removing the Japanese from assignments where they might be in a position to cause trouble or where they might be the victims of sabotage committed by others." Jeffers added we are transporting the Japanese laborers and their families to "whatever point they care to go."³⁹ Someone had sabotaged the mainline, which added one more reason to remove Japanese railroad workers.

The events surrounding the Japanese removal from railroad camps in southwest Wyoming were described by the Rock Springs newspapers. In February 1942:

Japanese nationals... were given notice to have their belongings and families aboard special cars spotted at sections preparatory to being transported to either Salt Lake City or Cheyenne. They were given three days in which to comply.. The sheriff's office reported that no official orders had been received here for removal or evacuation, but it was understood that the railroad took the step as a precautionary measure.

It is not known how many Japanese will be affected by the railroad's action, but it was stated officially that Japanese nationals not employed by the railroad would not be affected.⁴⁰

²⁸ The Republican-Bulletin, Rawlins, December 12, 1941, 6.

²⁹ Green River Star, December 19,1941, 1.

³⁰ Rock Springs Daily Rocket, February 7, 1942, 1.

³¹ Rock Springs Daily Rocket, February 26, 1942.

³² Rock Springs Daily Rocket, February 13, 1942.

³³ Green River Star, January 9, 1942, 1.

³⁴ Rock Springs Daily Rocket, January 8,1942, 1.

³⁵ Rock Springs Daily Rocket, January 10,1942, 1.

³⁶ Rock Springs Daily Rocket, February 6, 1942, 1.

³⁷ Rock Springs Daily Rocket, February 7,1942, 1 and 4.

³⁸ Laramie Republican and Boomerang, February 6,1942, 1.

³⁹ W.M. Jeffers to J. Edgar Hoover, February 13,1942.

⁴⁰ Jeffers to Hoover.

The railroad laid off not only Japanese nationals but also Japanese Americans working for the railroad. Only a few key personnel and Japanese coal miners working for the Union Pacific railroad remained employed.

In essence, the Japanese working in the coal mines were allowed to keep their jobs, but those working for the railroad were fired. In the words of George Okano a resident of Rock Springs whose family was affected by this action:

My brother was one of them. I was lucky; I was at school then. But heck, you come home, and they laid off all the citizens, noncitizens, whatever, up and down this line You were just off the property. You couldn't even be close to the railroad. Then the railroad comes right through the city [of Rock Springs], and there was people [Japanese], living right alongside the railroad tracks in the city. It didn't make much sense. 41

In retrospect, few steps taken to prevent sabotage to the Union Pacific mainline in Wyoming in 1941 and 1942, "make much sense."

The firing of Japanese railroad workers without just cause came with contradictions and thus makes for one of the more intriguing events in Wyoming history. The injustice of forcing families out of their home over night shows a total lack of regard for the past loyalty the Japanese had shown the Union Pacific Railroad Com-

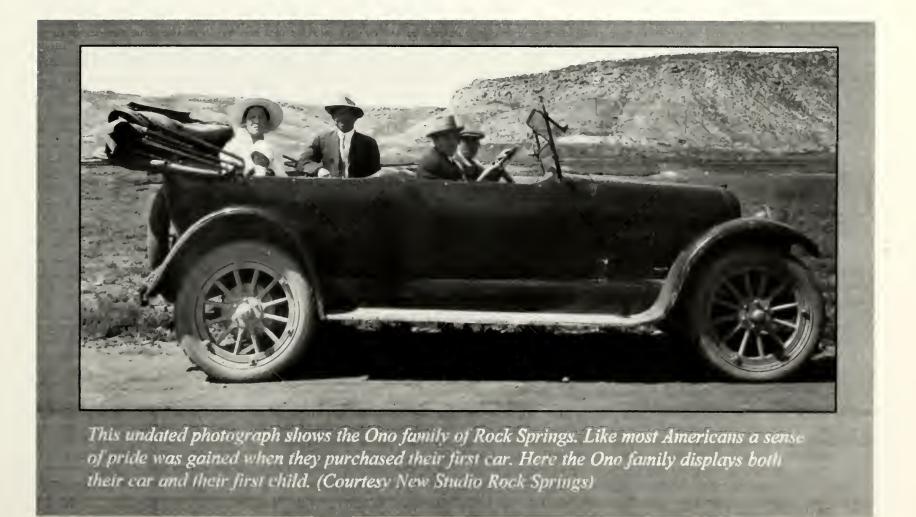


Ota Barbershop, Rock Springs, n.d.

Courtesy of New Studio, Rock Springs

pany. Many families could not carry away items of value because they were too heavy or there was not enough time to pack them. Yet acts of kindness were extended to Japanese that contradict the cold calculated manner in which people were thrown from their homes. Kindness came in the form of countless thoughtful actions. One example of the contradictory nature of the times is seen in the cruelty and kindness extended to George Nishi in 1941. He began working in the Blazon coal mine in Lincoln County in 1932. In 1941 George Nishi enlisted in the U.S. Army. He recalls:

41 Okano interview, 6.



You know I went in the week after Pearl Harbor [for a] physical examination [so I could join the army]. We took a bus from a store there at the junction when you get onto [present] I-80 [i.e.Granger]. So we meet there [at Granger] and we all went to Chevenne. [I]n [the] bus depot they all get off the bus [and] me and Tom Nakamara. Soon [the] FBI starts picking on me and Nakamara. I had a leader in the group, Dale Morrow, he was the leader but he wasn't saying nothing. So I told him, why don't you tell them I'm with you for the physical examination. They trying to catch me. I so ashamed everybody watching me. They [the FBI] thought they catch a spy. No kidding, I never forget that.... Soon when we come back from physical exam, within a few days I got notice. So we went troop training. [I went by train.] Mainline, train use to go through and pick up all soldiers. We had a lot of trouble. Everybody drunk, going into service, so they say I'm Japanese. I don't have to go. They all drunk was gonna beat me up cause I'm Japanese. So Clyde Clark, I went in with him [from Kemmerer]; he said don't touch George. Said you touch him I touch you. Boy he was a big guy. Nice guy too.⁴²

Clyde Clark's kindness was remembered by George Nishi for nearly 40 years. Scars of malice also remain.

While Japanese laborers lost their jobs on the railroad they continued to make contributions to the war effort by mining coal. Coal mining was designated as a critical war industry since coal powered the trains. During World War II, the Japanese in southwest Wyoming contributed to the war effort by mining and processing coal. At the time, coal was the principal fuel used to fire Union Pacific's locomotives. The steam driven locomotives powered trains that hauled men and war materials to the Pacific Coast. Goods carried over Union Pacific's rails were needed to fight the war in the Pacific Theater. Mixed loyalties were to be expected, but Japanese miners, both male and female, worked in and around the coal mines to supply fuel for the war effort.⁴³ Serving their country by helping to mine coal, Japanese women and men, like other coal miners, shared in the dangers of producing coal. Some would die working for the coal companies.

According to one Japanese coal miner, the only recorded Japanese death in Reliance occurred as a result of an accident in the coal industry. Yashio Tabuchi recalled that Tom Kawaguchi "got killed in the tipple ... When he fell inside the conveyor, [he went] through ... the crusher. [He was] the only ... Japanese that got killed."⁴⁴ Tabuchi's account represents the only Japanese version of the event that transpired on November 15, 1945. The tipple was a loading and handling facil-

ity used to process the coal from the Reliance mines. At the time the tipple at Reliance was a fairly modern facility and capable of loading five railroad cars at once.

The official report is a much more sterile account, but it does detail the accident. According to the State Inspector of Coal Mines, Tom Kawaguchi was a single male and was 71 years old when he was killed in the Reliance tipple.

Kawaguchi was employed as a tipple cleaner. On the day of the accident he was cleaning the second floor underneath the mixing conveyor. When he started to clean under this conveyor, the tipple had been stopped about ten minutes. When the tipple started up, a Klaxon horn was sounded to notify all persons to get into the clear. It seems that he did not hear the horn, as he made no attempt to move from underneath the conveyor.

From the position of his broom and shovel, he had finished sweeping and raised up when one of the flights of the mixing conveyor caught him and pulled him onto this conveyor. The conveyor carried him its full length and dropped him on the sixinch loading boom where his body was discovered by a tipple operator.

This Department recommends that all employees be instructed to stay away from any machinery while in operation.⁴⁵

The official description leaves out several factors that provide insights into not only the death of Kawaguchi, but also the war-time operation of the tipple. The tipple operator at the time of the death was a 22-year-old woman who had begun working in the facility some time after the outbreak of hostilities with Japan. Even though the war with Japan was over when the accident occurred, the war-time operations continued through November, 1945. During the war, the tipple was staffed by women "boney pickers," some of whom were of Japanese descent. The boney pickers were people hired to sort through the coal and discard stone or other objects that would not burn.

⁴² Personal interview with George Nishi, June 1991, Kemmerer Wyoming, (Ms. on file, Western Wyoming College Department of History), 18-19.

⁴³ Personal interviews with Agnes Sunada Tabuchi and Yoshio Tabuchi, Reliance, Wyoming, 1986 (Ms. on file, Archaeological Services of Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs). Yoshio Tabuchi died at the age of 70 on February 7, 1988. "He was born February 28, married Agnes Sunada on October 14, 1940, in Manila, Utah He worked as a coal miner for 22 years." *Rock Springs Daily Rocket Miner*, February 9, 1988, 11.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*., 16-17.

⁴⁵ Wyoming State Coal Miner Inspector's Report, 1945, 31. (All state coal mine inspector's reports are on file Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne).

The woman operator who started the tipple the day Kawaguchi died had attained her position of authority and her skills as a result of the war. Prior to the war, women would not have been employed in a coal mine operation regardless of their skills. In the tipple, female workers, some Japanese, worked alongside high school students. Most of the people working in the Reliance Tipple gained employment due to the drain on the labor pool created by World War 11.46 In Rock Springs the problem was even more acute. Japanese railroad workers who had been laid off in 1942 had to be replaced. The coal industry was operating at peak production levels; therefore, in 1945, the gender, age, and racial make-up of the workers in the tipple reflected the difficulty in obtaining laborers. While this trend of hiring women during World War II has been widely documented, the fact that a Japanese national was working with female laborers in a tipple that provided fuel to the American war transportation network is significant. The death is noteworthy not because it is an isolated incident, but because it reflects the contributions Japanese immigrants made to the American coal industry during World War II.

Many Japanese miners spent the entire war working underground. Mr. Kawaguchi was not the only Japanese worker to lose his life in the Wyoming coal industry during the early 1940s. On December 29, 1941, Sunge Yoshimoto, age nineteen, was killed in the Lincoln- Star Coal Company tipple south of Kemmerer. In all, four Japanese workers were injured in Wyoming coal mines in 1941. In spite of dangers inherent to coal mining, Japanese miners continued to work below ground. Yashio Tabuehi worked in the mines at Reliance, Wyoming, throughout World War H.⁴⁷ Takayuki Tanaka entered Union Pacifie's No.8 mine in Rock Springs before he joined the armed forces in 1944. These men all lived in Japanese towns and were part of a larger work force that contributed to the growth of the Wyoming eoal industry during World War II.⁴⁸

At best, life in a company town in Wyoming during the 1930s and early 1940s was not the most desirable. Housing, while providing modest comforts, lacked central heating and had been built so quickly that occupants complained of snow and dust blown in through the sides of structures. From the dust of the mines to the dust in the streets, coal towns in southwest Wyoming are commonly remembered for the brown and black film that covered everything from bed clothes to cooking utensils. All miners living in company housing faced similar conditions. The difference in the case of the Japanese quarters was that they were isolated and kept at a distance from the rest of the miners' homes.

In the wake of World War II, the people living in Japanese coal camps felt the pressures of isolation and prejudice, but they also shared a sense of having to live through the same thing their neighbors did. The loneliness, bred out of being misunderstood, was a shared experience and in the Japanese villages the isolation served as a bond. The bond grew stronger as the Japanese of southern Wyoming shared more and more experiences. For example, even though Japanese labored below ground and sent their sons off to war, neighbors outside the "Japanese Towns" often viewed their labors with suspicion and mistrust. In the end their labors spoke for themselves. One mythic folk tale about the West holds: "Here we judge you by how you work, not by who you are." For a time the Japanese were judged by who they were, but slowly they became appreciated for what they did and also for their silent strength in a sea of adversity. That strength often grew stronger in small isolated communities marked by dusty streets and houses covered with coal dust.

The majority of the Japanese miners living in "Japanese Towns" in places like Reliance were bachelors. The families settled in the company-built homes and the bachelors often lived in company barracks or at boarding houses. Some of the Japanese families took in boarders. One Japanese woman took as many as six boarders into her home. She raised seven children in addition to taking eare of her husband and the borders. Of course, the home was not large, and meals were served at one long table. All of this boarding was done to help make ends meet. 49 The Japanese communities in Superior, Reliance and Rock Springs were made up principally of miners and their families. Many of the wives were in the community as a result of arranged marriages, and they had little idea of the conditions they would face when they arrived in the United States from Japan. Numerous women who had left their homes without meeting their future husbands faced culture shock, isolation and years of hard work.⁵⁰ They shared the experiences of isolation and hard work with the women who had emigrated from Europe. The distinction was that they were required by coal company policy to live in Japanese towns.

⁴⁶ Personal interview with William Zelenka, Rock Springs, Wyoming, October 10, 1990 (Ms. on file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs).

⁴⁷ Wyoming State Coal Mine Inspector's Report, 1941, 56.

⁴⁹ Agnes and Yoshio Tabuchi interview, 16-17.

⁴⁸ Personal interview with Takayuki Tanako, Rock Springs, Wyoming, October 10, 1990 (Ms. on file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs).

⁵⁰ Edith Sunada and George Okano interviews both discuss arranged marriages. Sunada describes both her mother's marriage and the fact that she refused an arranged marriage.

The Japanese who chose to stay in Rock Springs during World War II recorded the fact that they had jobs doing something either in the mines or for a family business. One Japanese resident, who was born in Rock Springs, when asked what he did for recreation during World War II, related that there was little leisure time; most of the day was filled with work. George Okano, who eventually fought with the United States Army's famed 442nd in World War II, relates:

We didn't have too many free days. Any days that school was out, by God, guess what? My dad had a store, and you had to help. I can remember, I was just learning how to drive dad's delivery truck. There used to be a big boney pile down here. In there would be some coal. So dad said, "I'll let you drive that truck, but you go get a load of coal and fill the coal shed up; then you can go hunting or driving or something like that." That was recreation, but we had to get the coal first—a winter supply. 51

Okano sold and delivered food to the coal mining towns and to Japanese workers in the section camps.

The Japanese who lived in the coal camps and in the surrounding communities did witness racial prejudice. Most Japanese residents tend to minimize the racial tensions, but all of those interviewed about life in the area during World War II have stories dealing with difficulties and prejudice. George Okano recalls, "As far as [prejudice] goes it was good. We were real fortunate. But there were some animosities." Chinese residents in Rock Springs "used to run around saying, 'I'm Chinese.' One of them kicked Jeral, my brother, out of their restaurant here in town. I never did forgive them. I won't eat there even today."52 Edith Sunada claims, "people weren't very kind. In fact, we had one man come in one night . . . drunk, and he kicked the door down . . . trying to get in; I don't know what he thought he was trying to do."53 Edith and her family remained in Green River and Reliance throughout World War II. Her brother was fired from the railroad in 1942 with the rest of the Japanese workers but took several jobs in the area before joining the Army's 442nd.

Edith Sunada still lives in Green River. Her account of her brothers and her attitude toward their wartime experience provides insight into her tenacity.

My brother was very bitter about the whole thing because he got more rough treatment than I did. I didn't get that much because my brother didn't fight back like I did. He just kinda kept still. But like when people would say to me, 'Are you a Jap?', I would say, 'No, I was born here in the United States. Why, what's it to you? What are you?' I learned to fight

back. And I would say, 'Are you German?' or something like that, so they got so they'd keep still to me. My brother kept still because he's one of the quieter ones in our family.⁵⁴

There was a certain amount of give and take in the coal communities of southwestern Wyoming during World War II. Many immigrants in the area were from Italy and Austria and did not wish to draw attention to the fact that their nation was allied with Germany. German immigrants in the coal camps could ill afford to draw attention to themselves.

The Japanese contribution to the economy of southwestern Wyoming was important. Yet the Japanese contributed in other ways, especially in the way that they created a sense of community among themselves. The fact that many Army 442nd veterans returned to live in Rock Springs after the war illustrates the close family ties that still existed in spite of the war.

Today there are still Japanese workers living in southwest Wyoming who have long since retired from the coal mines and who clearly recall the war years. It touched them as it touched all Americans. But their memories are couched in the fact that they continued to work for their country and served in a critical war industry when few recognized or appreciated their effort. Like Yoshiye Tanaka who walked to school on December 8, 1941, facing an uncertain future, all Japanese faced the unknown on December 8. The Japanese of southwestern Wyoming had to choose how they were going to respond to an event beyond their control. The response varied.

In spite of prejudice and uncertainty, Japanese citizens in southwestern Wyoming overcame distrust and intolerance, by continuing to work and live along the Union Pacific railroad corridor — and, in the process, they contributed to the nation's war effort at home, in the mines, and by serving in the military. The courage it took to continue to live in isolation and work through the false accusations is difficult to measure. What is easier to measure is that children, women, and men continued to go to school and labor each day in the face of overwhelming difficulties and quietly triumphed in villages called "Japanese Towns" and in their homes scattered throughout southern Wyoming.

- 51 Okano interview, 3-5.
- 52 Okano interview, 6.
- 53 Edith Sunada interview, 26.
- ⁵⁴ Sunada interview, 31.

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Remembering Pearl Harbor

A Personal Reminiscense By Beryl E. Wauson, Centennial, Wyoming

These images are now some 55 years old in my memory, but the sounds, colors, action of them are a vivid today as that morning in December 1941. Our daughter, age 1, had awakened me earlier, but she was playing happily in her crib. So rather than disturb my sleeping husband, I picked up my book to read a while before rising. After all, it was hardly 8 a.m. this December Sunday.

Our Navy housing unit was only a few yards from the Honolulu-Pearl Harbor highway, but the weekend traffic was light, the morning peaceful and quiet. A few moments later, I felt a disquiet, an unusual interruption, a series of blasting sounds.

Were the engineers blasting at Red Hill (the ammunition dump under construction nearby) on a weekend? And why were the blasts irregular, not the measured thump—thump—thump of the construction?

From curiosity, I stepped out on our second-floor balcony, and my question was in that instant answered;

my life and my world, as were everyone that morning, instantly and violently changed.

About fifty feet over my head, coming directly at me, was a single-engine low-wing plane. I could see the pilot in the nacelle. And mostly I could see on the undersurface of each wing, a huge red sun. He was gone in a nano-second, but his image, his helmeted head, remain in front of me to now, and will for as much longer as I live. I turned and screamed, "Tom, the Japs are here."

"Oh, come back to bed, it's just exercises," was his half-awake response.

"No! I just saw one!" or some words to that effect finally aroused him enough to rise, come out on the balcony to see what I was so excited about.

(Note: now, 55 years later, as I recall and write this, my hands shake and I feel the trembling take over the pit of my stomach.)

We looked over to Merry Point, the navy oil dock,



American Heritage Center photograph

Attack on Pearl Harbor as seen from Aiea, Dec. 7, 1941.



USS Oglala capsized, USS Shaw burning (right center), USS Helena (left). Ford Island in the background. American Heritage Center photograph

a few blocks from us. Past the warehouses glided a low-flying single-engine plane. From the pilot's nacelle back trailed a long tail of flame. Tom decided we weren't shooting down our own planes: we knew we were at war.

War, or the prospect of war, had been a big topic of discussion among our circle of friends for several months. The Japanese delegation was in Washington, war had been a reality in Europe for over two years now. We were creeping closer, we knew, with Lend-Lease and other aid to the Allies.

Tom, who loved to rabble-rouse, took the position that we would be at war with Japan, and soon, and that they would strike Pearl Harbor. It was good for an hour's argument any evening. I am only thankful that he didn't have the opportunity to voice these opinions where they may have been overheard by "authority". His real chagrin was that he didn't believe what he declaimed, and was much taken aback when he was right.

Back to 8 a.m. Sunday morning.

"Turn on the radio," he directed me. So I rushed

downstairs to our one set. The wooden Venetian blinds were closed, so it was dark downstairs. I tugged on the cord to raise the blind, the resulting sound was rapid machine-gun fire. Tom, one leg in and one out of his trousers hopped to the head of the stairs, shouting, "What was that?" Now we were both excited.

The two Honolulu radio stations were piping hymns for the next ten minutes. Finally a brief announcement interrupted, "Something is happening at Pearl Harbor."

By now all our neighbors were flocking outside. The men, dressed in uniform, piled into cars, dashed back to their duty stations with hardly a good-bye. We had no idea when, or if, we would see them alive again.

Women and children stood in the streets, watching the two levels of attack. High overhead, tight V formations of perhaps fifteen planes each, droned around dropping bombs. The anti-aircraft fire from ships in the harbor burst about one-half way to their altitude. Wave after wave passed. The low-flying torpedo planes, two of which we had seen from the balcony, we saw as they banked around after their runs.

We noticed after one-half hour or so, occasional "spurts" of dust in the streets. Someone went over to investigate, and found chunks of shrapnel, jagged and still warm. This moved us indoors in a hurry.

As the morning wore on, three huge towers of black smoke arose from the harbor. Each was topped by white cloud formation, condensation from the heat. The smoke ballooned to fill the sky to our east. The tight formations of high bombers continued, in three lengthy waves about one hour apart.

In the house, I cleared my buffet top and laid out all the first-aid supplies I could muster.

Mid-morning, several stake-side trucks raced toward the navy yard gate, from Honolulu. Each was loaded with boxes, about 2x2x6 feet, all standing upright on the bed of each truck. About one hour later, those trucks returned toward Honolulu. The boxes were now lying flat, stacked four deep, and the trucks were not moving so fast.

"My God," I thought, "Those are bodies."

I have not yet described the sound. As a constant background to all the planes, smoke, A-A gunfire bursts, was a din of blasts, sixteen-inch gunfire, roaring engines, a steady wall of incredible sound that continued for at least four hours. I say "at least" because at noon a marine shore patrol truck moved through the housing area, announcing over loudspeakers that all dependents were to be evacuated. We were to assemble in 15 minutes with one suitcase apiece, at the bus stop corners.

The sound and action was by noon abating. The raid seemed to be over. Only the towers of black smoke continued to rise, topped by their lovely white clouds.

My daughter and I, and a suitcase of diapers, boarded a bus and were taken to the Army and Navy

"Y" in Honolulu. There, all of us displaced service dependents sat and waited, were taken by cab drivers offering their services, to local homes opening their doors to us.

Through that long day and night, we waited for the invasion which we knew was to follow. That decision by Japan's leaders, not to send an invasion force with the strike force, had a deciding effect on the war in the Pacific. This was all yet to unfold. That day, we watched the planes drop bombs, the smoke billow, listened to the unbelievable roar of battle, and knew we were at war.

Footnote: Over Easter break last month, my seventeen-year-old grandson toured to Hawaii with his choral group. They visited the USS Arizona Memorial. On returning home, Nathan, to whom war is a game on Nintendo, said wide-eyed to his mother, "That ship is huge," and, "Why did we build a memorial to a defeat?"

His mother explained, "That memorial is to a loss, not a defeat, to the loss of the crew of that ship, who lie there in it."

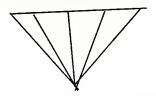
"Did we defeat Japan?" he asked.

"Yes, we defeated Japan in the war."

I recommend to anyone who wonders why we fought Japan, to go visit the USS Arizona Memorial in Pearl Harbor. History, and war, become real there. My memory of the USS Arizona, in the months after the attack, is of twisted superstructure standing above the water of the harbor. I have not seen the memorial built there after World War II. But then, the face of that Japanese pilot, seen for a split instant at 8 a.m. that morning in December, is all the reality I ever need to tell me why we fought the war in the Pacific.

Bombs on the Prairie

By Liz Barritt



Ken and Toots Adkins were enjoying a quiet afternoon together on their ranch in Weston County, Wyoming, on February 8, 1945. Life was relatively peaceful in the remote reaches of the Wyoming prairie even though World War II raged in other parts of the world. Ken was getting ready to go outdoors and complete the afternoon chores as Toots stepped out the back door to check on their little daughter, Linda Lee. Something, however, caught her eye in the twilight sky. Calling out to Ken, Toots' first impression was of a bright basketball as it reflected what was left of the day's sunlight. As they watched, it slowly floated down to earth and, to their amazement, appeared to be a huge hot air balloon. ¹

The family climbed into their pickup truck and drove about a mile from their house through their pasture until they came upon an enormous balloon, skipping and dragging a metal frame across the sagebrush. Ken finally secured a hold on a length of the many ropes which dangled from the frame and secured the whole thing around some nearby boulders. At the same time he shouted to his young wife: "Go call the sheriff."²

The Adkins had been fortunate that the balloon, which measured thirty-three feet in diameter, had previously lost it's lethal cargo, one anti-personnel bomb and four incendiary bombs.³ The bombs evidently had released prematurely somewhere on their journey from Japan across the Pacific Ocean and the western United States. Even though World War II was still being fought, the Adkins never suspected any war-related danger would appear at their ranch in northeastern Wyoming.

The Japanese, wishing to retaliate for the Doolittle raid against Tokyo during April, 1942, had hoped to strike directly at the American continent. For two years the Japanese experimented with the balloon bombs,

intending them to travel across the Pacific with the prevailing winds and then drop on American cities, forests, and farm and ranch lands.⁴

The Japanese released approximately nine thousand balloon bombs, the first on November 3, 1944.⁵ It is unclear how many reached the United States, estimates range between three hundred and one thousand. The balloons were found over an area from the Aleutians, as far east as Michigan, and reaching south into Mexico.⁶ Their potential for destruction and fires was immense. If the balloon weapons had been further exploited by using germ or gas bombs, the results could have been disastrous to the American people.

The Japanese manufactured the balloons from tissue paper obtained from fibers of the "kozo" bush, a member of the mulberry tree family. An adhesive called "konnyaku-nori," made from a type of Japanese potato, was used to join the seams. Large theaters and sumo wrestling halls were required for assembly.⁷

The balloons crossed the Pacific in approximately forty-eight hours. A U.S. Navy patrol craft spotted one near San Pedro, California, on November 4, 1994. This was one of the experimental ones. Two weeks later a second balloon was salvaged from the ocean. Within the next four weeks, balloons were found in Wyoming and Montana. This evidence of a new balloon-borne weapon caused concern and the assistance of all national, state, and local government was summoned. State and national forest rangers were ordered to report any balloon landings and recoveries of portions of balloons or their undercarriages.

After a number of newspapers carried stories about sightings of the bombs in Montana and Wyoming, the U.S. Office of War Information requested" no publicity about the balloon bombs. ¹⁰ The government did not want the Japanese to learn of the effectiveness of their new weapon. Another reason for the censorship

was the government's concern regarding the psychological response from the American public if they realized the mainland was under attack. 11

The censorship about the balloons ended for editors and broadcasters when a tragedy occurred on May 4, 1945, in Lakeview, Oregon. A balloon bomb exploded as it was discovered in a wooded area and took the lives of a woman and five children in a Sunday School class. 12 The government then undertook a campaign to warn all persons, particularly children, about the dangers of tampering with strange objects found in the woods. 13

According to government records, 285 reports of balloons were recorded from November, 1944, to August, 1945. These included 120 balloon recoveries (thirty-two balloon recoveries including bombs), twenty balloons downed but not recovered, twenty-eight independent bomb incidents, and eighty-five related incidents. 14

Darkness was settling in as the county sheriff and his deputy arrived at the Adkins ranch. With Ken's help, they managed to puncture the strange fabric of the balloon. Toots noticed a strange odor as the gas escaped. An uneasy feeling crept over her when three men, identifying themselves as F.B.I. agents, appeared at their home the next day at 5 a.m. At that time Ken and Toots

were thinking that perhaps the incident was connected to the war in some way. 15

After answering many questions concerning the size of the balloon, where it appeared, and if there were any bombs attached to it, the couple led the agents to the balloon. They loaded up the balloon, ropes, and framework into a trailer and traveled about thirty miles to the National Guard Armory in Newcastle. Upon reaching the armory, the agents instructed Ken to back his truck up to the large door. He helped unload the balloon and spread it out on the concrete floor. The agents then promptly excused him. They ignored every question Ken had and told him nothing. Not until after the war ended did the Adkins learn what the object was. 16

The Japanese balloon

bomb project cost more than two million dollars. Japanese propaganda reported great results (hundreds killed and many fires started), but they abandoned the project in the spring of 1945 because of little success and because the United States' bombing of Japan had damaged or destroyed many of the factories and railroads needed to construct and launch the balloons. ¹⁷ The Japanese attempt to create confusion and frighten U.S. civilians ended in failure.

A portion of the balloon which landed on the Adkins ranch can now be seen at the Anna Miller Museum in Newcastle. Ken and Toots Adkins still live on the same ranch and gladly tell the story of the day they will never forget when the big balloon came from the western sky and skipped lazily down in their own backyard.

- 1 Personal interview with Ken and Toots Adkins, February 8, 1995.
 - 2 Ihia
- ³ For a description of the balloon bombs see Bert Webber, *Silent Siège: Japanese Attacks on North America in World War II* (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press.), 249.
- ⁴ T.A. Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 1941-1945, reprint edition (Cheyenne: Wyoming Historical Foundation, 1993), 78.
 - ⁵ Webber, Silent Siege, 252.
 - 6 Ibid., 266.
 - ⁷ For a discussion of the construction of the hombs see

Webber, Silent Siege, 245-246.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 266.

⁹ Robert C. Mikesh, Japan's World War II Balloon Bomb Attacks on North America," *Smithsonian Annals of Flight*, Number 9 (Washington, D.C.: National Air and Space Museum, 1973).

10 Webber, Silent Siege. The Northern Wyoming Daily News (Worland) reported such a sighting in the December 8, 1944. However, the balloon was identified as a parachute.

11 Mikesh.

12 Webber, Silent Siege, 224-233.

13 *Ibid*, p. 282. The Western Defense Command issued the Japanese Balloon Information Bulletin No. 1" on May 31, 1945.

14 Mikesh.

15 Adkins interview.

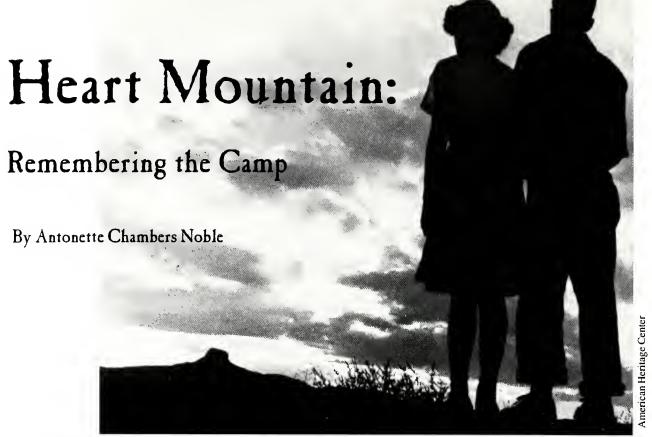
16 Atkins interview.

17 Webber, Silent Siege, 255.

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Balloon bombs reported in Wyoming

- 1. December 6, 1944, fifteen miles southwest of Thermopolis.
- 2. December 19, 1944, near Manderson.
- 3. January 28, 1945, near Worland. Parts found might have come from the balloon bomb which fell near Thermopolis in December, 1944.
- 4. February 8, 1945, at Adkins ranch near Newcastle.
- 5. February 9, 1945, fragment found near Casper.
- 6. February 22, 1945, Kirby residents watched the balloon hit the ground near town.
- 7. February 22, 1945, two Powell residents reported watching a balloon explode in the air.
- 8. February 22, 1945, residents of Glendo watched the balloon land.
- 9. March 21, 1945, fragment found near Gillette.
- 10. March 22, 1945, fragment found near Basin.
- 11. April 6, 1945, Casper.



"Greetings from Heart Mountain," May, 1944. Blake's Studio, Cody

From the first peoples crossing the Bering Straits from Asia, and later from both oceans, America has always been a country of immigrants. The immigration legacy often is celebrated. Every dinner table across the nation, regardless of creed or color, features a turkey dinner in honor of our successful European migrational heritage.

America has been less enthusiastic in celebrating its Asian migration. Anti-Oriental sentiments have been embedded in the social structure of the American West from the time the first Asian immigrants arrived in the 1800s. Yet, while Asians were not welcomed socially, they were welcomed as a hard-laboring class; first to build the railroads, and later to farm, mine, or work as domestics. They were never welcomed to stay, particularly during hard economic times when even their labor was not wanted. The first Asians in the United States were denied the benefits of full citizenship. Well into the twentieth century Asians and Americans of Asian ancestry had been denied the right to vote or to testify in court. ¹

In 1886 the Japanese government allowed its people to emigrate for the first time in almost 300 years. Several hundred Japanese men, women, and children began arriving in the United States each year. After the turn of the century, the number rose to several thousand a year. By 1910, 72,000 Japanese, mostly men, were living in the United States.²

Again, at first the Japanese were welcomed as a laboring class. Gradually, however, fears of economic competition resulted in anti-Japanese agitation, as had happened with the Chinese in America. Japan's victory in the 1904 war with China and again in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 frightened many Californians who feared the Japanese may wage war against the United States. The issue came to a head in 1906 when the San Francisco school board ordered all Chinese, Japanese, and Korean children removed from neighborhood schools and segregated in special Oriental schools. (This order was later lifted at President Theodore Roosevelt's urging.) This event led to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-08 in which the Japanese government would limit emigration on its own, unless the immigrants had already been in America or had relatives in this country. In addition, the California state legislature in 1913 passed an Alien Land Law. Since the Japanese and other Asians in the United States were "aliens ineligible for citizenship," they were pro-

¹ Roger Daniels, Concentration Camps USA: Japanese American and World War II (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, Inc., 1971), 9.

² Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei, The Quiet Americans* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992), 59.

³ Daniels, 15. This is also the topic of Chapter 2 in Daniel S. Davis, *The Imprisonment of Japanese Americans during World War II* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1982).

hibited from owning agricultural land. Not only had the golden door slammed shut; even those who had successfully gotten through found stiff discrimination against them.³

With the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and the humiliating defeats suffered by the Allies in the Pacific after Pearl Harbor, an explosive force of hostility was released against the people of Japanese ancestry living in the United States. Ruth Hashimoto's father, a Christian minister in California, held a Thanksgiving service on the afternoon of December 7, 1941. In the middle of his sermon, FBI agents came banging on all the church doors and took away a co-celebrant. The minister was in the initial group of American Japanese leaders who the FBI illegally rounded up after Pearl Harbor was bombed.

Newspapers fueled the homefront war against the Japanese, calling them "mad dogs, yellow vermin, and nips." This atmosphere of hatred gave license to extremist elements. "California was given by God to a white people," the president of the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West proclaimed, "and with God's strength we want to keep it as he gave it to us." 5

Economic success by the Japanese living in America also played a significant role in the disdain for them during the heat of World War II. Since Japanese born in Japan, called Issei, were not eligible for citizenship nor could they own land, their naturalized born children, called Nisei, owned the family farms. These farms were usually very successful. Nisei owned farms occupied only one percent of the cultivated land in California, yet they produced nearly 40 percent of the total California crop. The Grower Shipper Association admitted wanting to get rid of the American Japanese from California to get their rich farmland. The American Japanese lacked good political organization, and were therefore, unable to counter the attacks made against them. The first-generation parents, or the Issei, were prevented by law from voting or becoming citizens, and the great majority of American-born Nisei were still in school, making them an easy target.⁶

The anti-Japanese sentiments in this country were, of course, greatly accentuated by the reports coming back to the country about the war atrocities by the Japanese. The war caused tremendous fear, and not unfounded. The Japanese had bombed Hawaii, and there was a great fear that they were coming to bomb the West Coast, too. In wartime there is always concern for a fifth column threat—when people living within a community, upon an enemy invasion, rise up against the locals and join the enemy. The media regularly printed articles suggesting that the American Japanese

were fifth column threats. It should be noted that there never was a case in which an American Japanese was convicted of sabotage.⁷

President Franklin Roosevelt acted against the American Japanese. The entire California political establishment--including Governor Culbert Olson and Attorney General Earl Warren--strongly supported evacuating American Japanese from their state. The leading military figures—General John DeWitt, Provost Marshal General Allen Gullion, Secretary of War Henry Stimson, and War Department official John McCloy—also wanted the American Japanese removed from the West Coast. The only significant hold out against the forced removal of American Japanese from the West Coast was the nation's attorney general, Francis Biddle. New to the cabinet, Biddle's opinion held little weight.⁸

When Roosevelt signed his Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, he accepted the "military necessity" argument for the forced removal of American Japanese from the West Coast asking only that Stimson and McCloy, the men designated to carry out the evacuation, be as reasonable and as humane as possible. People of all ages with as little as one-eighth Japanese ancestry were removed from the designated military zones. Since the entire state of California, the western half of Washington and Oregon, and the southern part of Arizona were all designated as military zones, the order affected more than 110,000 American citizens and aliens of Japanese descent.

In many cases, the American Japanese were given 48 hours to pack up their homes and close their businesses and go to an unknown location for an indefinite period of time. Only allowed to take with them what they could carry, the evacuees were forced to leave most of their personal and business possessions. Some had Caucasian friends who sympathized with their plight and offered to store their personal belongings. Those less fortunate became victims of greedy Caucasians who learned about the evacuation and capitalized on it. They offered a few dollars for expensive items. (One internee

⁴ Ruth Y. Hashimoto, "Remembering With Gratitude," speech, 1989, sent to author.

⁵ Doris Kearns Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time; Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 321.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 321. See also chapter 2 in Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed; Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949).

⁷ Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1976) 46.

⁸ Goodwin, 322.

⁹ Goodwin, 322.

remembers her father getting \$10 for a car he saved years to purchase. Another remembers getting only \$5 or at most \$10 for their major appliances and furniture). Since the American Japanese could not take it with them, they often took the few dollars, so to get something, rather than leave it for theft. The government had provided storage units for the evacuees, but most were not told about them. The few who did use the government's storage returned to discover their belongings had been pillaged. Pets were also a problem. Some found Caucasian neighbors to keep their animals, while others simply had to leave them behind to roam the streets. 10

Nobu Asaki remembers how her family was roused from their sleep in the middle of the night by FBI agents the evening Pearl Harbor was bombed. They were pushed into one room and told that they were surrounded, so not to try to escape. Their father was taken that night and held by immigration officials as part of the roundup of Japanese non-citizens. Nobu's mother, brothers, and sisters had to prepare for evacuation by themselves—without their family head.¹¹

The evacuees were herded into sixteen hastily provided "assembly centers" at racetracks and athletic fields along the West Coast while ten permanent centers further inland were being constructed by army engineers. 12 One of these permanent camps was located in Park County, Wyoming, between Cody and Powell.

In fitting with the regulations dictating the location of these camps, the Wyoming site was on federal land, at the Heart Mountain Division of the Shoshone Project of the Bureau of Reclamation. This was the last of the four divisions of the Shoshone Project, and the only one not completed due to financial difficulties brought on by the Great Depression. The land was "useless" until it could be irrigated because it had just 6 to 8 inches of annual rainfall. The camp was named after the imposing land mark northwest of the camp. ¹³

In the summer of 1942, some 2,500 workers quickly raised 456 barracks, each 20 feet by 100 feet, and various auxiliary buildings to accommodate 11,000 persons. The Heart Mountain camp, like all the camps, were built by the army and therefore designed like an army camp—the major difference being that this camp housed families, not soldiers. A few days after the camp completion on August 10, 1942, the first internees came. ¹⁴ For weeks more and more trainloads of Japanese Americans arrived. Many of them were glad to have the long, long train ride over with—it lasted three or four days—and they all had the same response upon seeing the camp; desolate. They could not believe they were being sent there to live.

Caryn Murdock Bing, a lifelong resident of Sublette County, Wyoming, took a teaching job as a young single person at the camp. She was asked to go early to help set up the camp. One of her most vivid memories of the internees arriving were the pots of flowers some of the ladies carried with them. She found it ironic, that in this dry, cold, desolate country, quiet yet sad people exited the trains carrying beautiful blooming plants. It was a priority to bring beautiful plants to an unknown home. 15

The barracks were divided into family-size apartments, offering little privacy. Families were forced to live in one room, unless there were several members, and then they were given only two rooms. The rooms were equipped with only a pot bellied stove, an army cot, mattress, and blanket for each person, and a single drop light. The triangle area above the room partitioning wall and the A-framed roof was open, so all noise was heard throughout the barrack. Having come from warmer climates, these provisions offered little comfort, especially during the fierce winter cold. The barracks were divided into blocks, with each block having a mess hall furnished with long tables and benches. Again in army style, there were community toilets and bathing facilities offering no privacy and most often described by the former internees as humiliating.

After the army transported the internees to the camps, the War Relocation Authority (WRA), an independent civilian government agency, took responsibility for the ten camps. The population at the Heart Mountain camp reached 10,872 people in October, 1942, making it Wyoming's third largest city. Largely through the efforts of the internees, the community became self sufficient. The camp housed a 150-bed hospital staffed with seven doctors, four dentists, and numerous nurses and nurses aides. This staff was made up of people from the surrounding Wyoming community and the internees. Camp community enterprises

¹⁰ The author attended two reunions of the former Heart Mountain internees, held in Seattle, Washington, September 11-13, 1992, and in San Jose, California, September 9-11, 1994. Generalizations in internee responses made in this paper come from the numerous conversations the author had with former internees at these reunions as well as from correspondence received from many internees. Generalizations usually are inappropriate to make. The author, however, feels comfortable in making them due to the consistent responses to her questions from the former internees.

¹¹ Nobu Asaki, in unpublished family history sent to author, January 24, 1994.

¹² Davis, The Imprisonment, 56.

¹³ T. A. Larson, *Wyoming's War Years*, 1941-1945 (Cheyenne, Wyoming Historical Foundation, 1993) 297.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 297

¹⁵ Caryn Murdock Bing, interview with author, June 7, 1991.

made up most of the commercial businesses such as the three stores selling dry goods, canned goods, newspapers and magazines, toilet articles, ice cream, pop, and other items. The profits went to the benefit of the residents. There was also a barber shop, radio repair shop, telegram service, check cashing service, fish store, laundry, and dry cleaning. By 1944 there was mail delivery and two movie theaters. Those who did not work with the community enterprises were employed with camp work in the mess halls, offices, boiler rooms, and police and fire departments. A complete school system was also organized with a faculty of internees and Caucasian teachers. ¹⁶

Caucasians often sought jobs at the camp, desiring the higher civil service wage as compared to local wages. Yet, the internees were paid only \$12, \$16, or at most \$19 per month, depending upon the work, even for professionals such as doctors and teachers. It was decided by the administrators of the camps that an internee was not to earn more than a soldier in the army. ¹⁷

What separated this community from other Wyoming communities was the barbed wire which encircled the camp and the armed guard towers manned with military police. When the American Japanese in the camps questioned the need for the barbed wire and military police, they were told that this was for their own protection. This answer did not work for the guns were pointed into the camp.

The government referred to Heart Mountain, and the other nine camps, as "Relocation Centers," after the initial confinement in "Assembly Centers." These terms, of course, are euphemisms. In reality, with the barbed wire and the armed guards, these centers were concentration camps. The term "concentration camps" is often associated with Hitler's camps, which were actually "death camps." Though the Japanese American camps in the United States during World War II were nowhere near the horrid German death camps, they were, nevertheless, concentration camps. 18

In the adverse conditions of the concentration camps the American Japanese created a surprisingly "normal" life. Month after month great effort was put forth to make their living situation better. Homemade furniture was made from scrap lumber left by the construction contractors. In 1943 a beautification project called for the planting of 2,500 trees and shrubs. The cover plantings reduced the violence of the sandstorms. A big campaign in 1943 became fly control, which was sponsored by the camp newspaper, the *Sentinel*. A 10-cent war savings stamp was offered for each one hundred flies; 104,300 flies were reportedly delivered to the newspaper office. ¹⁹

The camp administration, under the direction of Guy Robertson, attempted to give as much self-determination as possible to the evacuees. Residents chose a representative from each of the blocks, who became humorously referred to as "blockheads." The representatives drafted a charter, and it was ratified by two-thirds of the group. It provided for the election of a councilman for each of the 20 blocks. They also appointed various committees to deal with various camp issues. In November, 1943, the council adopted a judicial system and a criminal code. The committees participated in planning and administration, but the final word was always with the WRA officials.²⁰

Culturally, the family is very important to Japanese. As much as possible, parents tried to maintain a family life, although this was difficult. As previously mentioned, barrack life offered little privacy. The dinner table, the usual gathering place for families, was replaced with the communal dining halls. A good deal of effort was put forth to create activities for the children. Schools were immediately organized from preschool through high school. Girl and Boy Scout troops were formed, and after school activities organized. For the most part parents succeeded in creating a "normal" life for their children, as suggested by those children who only realized the severity of their condition years later. It had been successfully hidden from them by loving parents.

Agriculture is always important, especially in war time when warring countries are desperate for food supplies when their farm lands become battle fields and their farmers become soldiers. In the United States the farm lands were still available, but many of the traditional farm workers were serving their country in uniform or were earning high wages at military installations. This led western farmers and ranchers to pressure government officials to provide help for them, and a logical labor pool was the prisoners in the POW camps and the American Japanese camps. When it became obvious that the American Japanese were not a threat to their country, government leaders responded to the farmers and ranchers by allowing the internees to work

¹⁶ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 301. Velma Berryman Kessel, R.N. described the camp hospital in her diary kept while she was working at the camp. Behind Barbed Wire: Heart Mountain Relocation Camp (Powell: privately published, n.d.)

¹⁷ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 302.

¹⁸ Ellen Levine, A Fence Away From Freedom; Japanese Americans and World War II (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1995) xi.

¹⁹ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 301.

²⁰ Ibid., 299.

²¹ Ibid., 303.





(Above) Homecoming of a soldier to his family held in Heart Mountain. (Left) USO Club, Heart Mountain. Photo by Blake's Studio, Cody

American Heritage Center

for them. Working outside of the camp was popular. Not only was the opportunity to work appealing, but the pay was excellent. Outside a laborer earned 50 to 60 cents per hour, higher than wages in the camp.²²

The internees also cultivated the fields around the camp. As mentioned, the camp was located on an unfinished section of the Shoshone Irrigation Project. The internees completed the irrigation ditch, making the fields around the camp agriculturally productive not only for them but for the returning veterans after the camp was closed. In addition to 2,762 acres of planted crops, the internees raised pork, poultry, and eggs for consumption at the center and elsewhere.²³

Churches were also an important part of camp life. Buddhists had the largest congregation and there were many Christian denominations. Churches throughout the country adopted the American Japanese camps for their missionary work during the war. Their help was particularly felt during Christmas time when thousands of gifts poured into the camp for the children.²⁴

Ruth Hashimoto, the mother of two small children in the camp, wrote:

When Christmas 1942 was drawing near, we parents were wondering what a sad dreary one it was to be for our children in this God-forsaken place. But we found we were not forgotten. Boxes upon boxes were trucked in from all parts of the United States. Inside were handmade mittens, scarves, caps, coloring books, crayons, games and gifts galore. I'll never forget the joy that lit up the eyes of the little ones as they opened each gift, carrying a note asking us to

write. Many friendships resulted as "thank you" notes were written to the names and addresses enclosed. Gifts had come from churches all over the country. I have always hated war and its consequences but never the people.²⁵

Immediately after Pearl Harbor the induction of American Japanese was suspended. This proved temporary for in January, 1943 Secretary of War Stimson announced the formation of a volunteer all-Nisei combat team (the now famous 442nd). Nisei women were also invited to join the Women's Army Corps. A year later, in January, 1944, the volunteer unit was joined with the conscripted soldiers when Selective Service was reinstituted for the American Japanese. The Powell draft board called Heart Mountain young men. 26

Public opinion around the country against the American Japanese became more favorable during the war. This was in part due to the remarkable achievements of American Japanese units in the army. The 442nd combat team was the most decorated unit in the U. S. Army. Heart Mountain contributed more than 900 men to the army, 654 of them inducted directly from the camp. Heart Mountain had the only nationally recognized USO chapter operating within a relo-

²² Ibid., 302.

²³ Ibid., 302.

²⁴ Ibid., 303.

²⁵ Letter to author from Ruth Hashimoto.

²⁶ Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 316.

cation center. Twenty Heart Mountain soldiers were wartime casualties.²⁷

With the re-institution of the draft, some of the internees formed the Fair Play Committee which urged selectees to ignore their draft notices until their civil rights were restored. Sixty-three men refused to report for their preinduction physical examinations and said they would only when their rights as citizens were restored. For this action, the 63 were arrested and tried before U. S. District Judge T. Blake Kennedy in Cheyenne. In June, 1944, the court found them guilty and sentenced them to three years in the federal penitentiaries at McNeil Island and Leavenworth. The trial was the largest mass trial ever held in the state. The members of the Fair Play Committee and their followers were not supported by the majority of the internees. The Japanese American Citizens League denounced their action as unpatriotic.²⁸

What was Wyoming's response to the American Japanese evacuated to its state? In May, 1942, Governor Nels Smith received notice that the camp was to be located in his state and that it was a military necessity. Smith's response was that the state would not welcome "alien Japanese evacuees from the West Coast" unless they were kept under strict federal control, supervision, and maintenance, and then removed from the state at the end of the emergency. (He failed to mention that two-thirds of the Heart Mountain internees were American citizens.) Governor Smith took pride in his handling of evacuees. In the 1942 re-election campaign he advertised that he had prevented Japanese evacuees from becoming residents.²⁹ The internees were also barred by the Wyoming State Legislature from obtain-

ing fishing and hunting licenses. This bill was originally declared a conservation measure, and later removed from the books.³⁰

Individual responses from Wyoming residents ran the gamut from those who supported the evacuees and sympathized with their plight, to those who displayed outward hatred. The majority, though, accepted the statement that "A Jap was a Jap," failing to distinguish between loyal U.S. citizens and the Japanese at war with the United States. A frequent sign found in Cody store windows read "No Japs Allowed," restricting internees with day passes from patronizing their businesses. Though less frequently, the signs could also be found in Powell. Powell and Cody town councils passed resolutions on April 24, 1943, stating that Japanese Americans were not welcome and requested that visits from the evacuees to their towns be kept to a minimum except for agricultural work. Some merchants, however, were not pleased with the resolution, appreciating the business the evacuees gave them.³¹

The West Coast was reopened to people of Japanese ancestry on January 2, 1945, and the camps were closed by the end of 1945. Internees in Wyoming were told they were not welcome to stay. Powell War Dads initiated a petition to relocate the internees away from the state. Park County residents' fears of some staying

31 *Ibid.*,, 72.



Author's collection



American Heritage Center (Left) "Hitler, the snowman" (Above) Funeral of a Nisei serviceman,

Heart Mountain. Photo by Blake's Studio, Cody

²⁷ Ibid., 315.

²⁸ Ibid., 316.

²⁹ Ibid., 306.

³⁰ Douglas W. Nelson, *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp* (Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1976), 159.

were groundless—no one had indicated any interest in staying.³²

Previous to the camp closure some evacuees had left to attend school, usually in the Midwest. Others had left to take war jobs. These opportunities depended on the individual's connections, for an evacuee could leave camp only if he or she had a sponsor. Given that most of the American Japanese population prior to the war was on the west coast, few had family inland. Churches were valuable supports for young internees by offering to sponsor them and, thus, provide educational opportunities away from camp.³³

The majority of internees were still in camp, though, at war's end, for there was no where for them to go. They had lost everything they had when they were evacuated. They had no home—no business—to return to. With the camp closure, everyone had to leave. Most returned to the only life they knew on the west coast and began life again. To support his family, the only work Bacon Sakatani's father was able to find after the camp closed was working for a farmer in Idaho. The farmer, however, did not have housing for the family. Sakatani used all the money he had to buy an army surplus tent, and this was the family's first home after camp. The farmer allowed him to pitch the tent on his land, but only let them use water from the same ditch the animals used.³⁴

The impact of the Heart Mountain camp on Wyoming is surprisingly minimal, given the numbers and the talent of the internees. Many people in Wyoming during and after the war were unaware of the camp's existence. The internees did, however, finish the last section of the Shoshone canal which provided irrigated farming land to veterans returning from the war. They also contributed to agricultural production during the war, either on their own farm or assisting area farms and ranches.

One internee, though, was later glad that his talents were not used by his country. Kaoru lnouye was working as a chemist in California when he was evacuated and sent to Heart Mountain. He said that, years later, in 1950, he visited his professor at Berkeley who had worked with the government on the Manhattan Project. Inouye was told that the former teacher and the government had been looking for him during the war for his assistance with the atomic bomb. According to Inouye, the professor, as well as many of the Manhattan Project team, died young, victims of radiation. "I'm glad that I wasn't able to help them out in any way," Inouye said. At Heart Mountain, he taught chemistry at the high school. Later, he had a successful career as a chemist.³⁵

The Heart Mountain camp needs to be remembered as an important and sad part of Wyoming and United States history. It is obvious that the internment of more than 110,000 people because of their ancestry alone was a gross violation of the Constitution. It happened because it was war time, and other Americans were scared. Perhaps the biggest fear, though, is how easily this internment happened. Attempts to declare this act unconstitutional during the war failed, all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.³⁶ In the 1970s, the incarceration of the American Japanese during World War II was declared a terrible national mistake. Finally, Congress passed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 which was a public apology to the internees and offered \$20,000 to every internee in partial reparation.³⁷ An important person in Congress fighting for the redress and reparations was Norman Mineta who served his country in the United States House of Representatives for twentyone years. Mineta lived at Heart Mountain as a young boy with his family. He served in Congress with Wyoming's Senator Alan Simpson. The two first met at a Boy Scout Jamboree in Park County where Mineta was representing the Heart Mountain troop and Simpson was with his Cody troop.³⁸

When former internees were asked about how they felt about reparations, responses are mixed. Some feel the money can not erase the pain from years of being locked up behind barbed wire in Wyoming. Others felt it helped some. A unanimous comment however, is "It came too late. It didn't come in time to help the lssei—our parents, they were the ones who lost everything, and needed it the most to get our lives rebuilt."

- 32 Larson, Wyoming's War Years, 314.
- 33 Weglyn, Years of Infamy, 105.
- 34 Bacon Sakatani, interview with author, September 19, 1991.
- 35 Kaoru Inouye, interview with author, September 11, 1992.
- 36 The legal battle over the forced evacuation and imprisonment of American Japanese during World War II is the topic of Peter Irons, *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1983).
- 37 Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano, (eds.), *Japanese Americans from Relocation to Redress* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1986) 44. This historic event is the subject of William Minoru Hohri, *Repairing America* (Pullman, Washington State University Press, 1988).
- 38 Norman Y. Mineta, interview with author, September 8, 1994.

The author received her M. A. in history from the University of Utah in 1985. She has written a number of articles about Utah during World War II and was a contributing editor to Utah Remembers World War II. She lives in Sublette County, Wyoming.

World War III Information in the Hebard Collection, UW Libraries

Compiled by Tamsen L. Hert, University of Wyoming Libraries

The Grace Raymond Hebard Wyoming Collection is a branch of the University of Wyoming Libraries. It is housed in the Owen Wister Western Writers Reading Room in the American Heritage Center. Primarily a research collection, the core of this collection is Miss Hebard's personal library which was donated to the university libraries. Further donations have been significant in the development of this collection. While it is easy to identify materials about Wyoming published by nationally known publishers, it can be difficult to locate pertinent publications printed in Wyoming. The Hebard collection is considered to be the most comprehensive collection on Wyoming in the state.

Additional Wyoming materials may be found in the circulating collections of the university libraries, Science, Geology, LRC, as well as in the Historic Maps Collection and U.S. Government Documents collections in Coe Library. All materials can be identified through the CARL/UW on-line catalog.

For the premiere of this column, I identified materials related to World War II in Wyoming. I have identified publications in the Government Documents collection, the circulating collection in Coe, and in the Hebard collection. If you have any questions about these materials or the Hebard collection, you can contact me by phone at 307-766-6245; by email, thert@uwyo.edu or you can access the Hebard HomePage at the URL: http://www.uwyo.edu/lib/heb.htm.

General World War II Publications

Agricultural Extension Wartime Activities. Laramie: Agricultural Extension Service, University of Wyoming, 1942.

Pamphlet describing the responsibilities of Extension to "carry forward all phases of agriculture's wartime program." Discusses areas of interest from livestock to home water systems to 4-H Club work.

Allen, Mary Moore. Origin of Names of Army and Air Corps Posts, Camps and Stations in World War II in Wyoming. Goldboro, NC: The Author, 195?

Typescript. Provides information on the Casper Army Air Field, Cheyenne Municipal Airport, and Fort Francis E. Warren. *The American Guidebook*/published by the Ladies Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars Laramie Post 2221. Laramie, WY: The Auxiliary, 1944.

A list of those in the service of the country from Albany County. Called the "Roll of Honor" in the publication. Contains advertisements from local merchants. Also includes sections on "How to Address Correspondence to War Prisoners or Civilian Internees," and many other pieces of useful information.

Casualty Section, Office of Public Information, U.S. Navy. State Summary of War Casualties. Washington: U.S. Navy, 1946.

A list of individuals from Wyoming "Killed in Action, Died of Wounds, or Lost Lives as Result of Operational Movements in War Zones." Also includes a "Prisoner of War Record."

Clough, Wilson Ober. The University of Wyoming, 1939-1946: A Land-Grant College in War Laramie, WY: University of Wyoming, 1951.

Wilson Clough served as Secretary of the Faculty, 1939-1946. In the forward he states that "The purpose of this review ... is to preserve in outline the critical years of war as they affected the University, its administration, its student body and faculty, its over-all adjustment to the rapidly shifting panorama of events." Clough concludes with three appendices — War Programs on the Campus: Faculty in Service; and In Memoriam, those killed while serving.

Cooper, Clara Chassell. A Mothers Quest for Peace: Poems on the Second World War Written During the Spring and Summer of 1940. Washington: Distributed by the National Council for Prevention of War, 1940.

Cooper, Clara Chassell. Thoughts on War and Peace: Poems on the Second World War Written During the Second Year of the War. Washington, DC: Distributed by the National Council for Prevention of War, 1941.

House Notes, November 1944. Laramie, WY: Sigma Nu, 1944. Mainly a listing of Sigma Nu members in the Service and how to contact them.

Larson, T. A.

Wyoming's War Years, 1941-1945. Cheyenne: Wyoming Historical Foundation, 1993.

A reprint edition of Dr. Larson's original 1954 publication. Dr. Larson was encouraged by Dr. Laura A. White, head of the University's history department, to "compile a record of Wyoming's contributions to the war and of the war's impact on the state." The contents of this work move from an introduction about World War II to agriculture, industry, and business to Heart Mountain and, finally, postwar planning. Several appendices are included as well as a substantial bibliography and index.

Mason, Mary Kay. World War II and Albany County, Wyoming. Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1995.

Published to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of World War II, this is a compilation of biographical information submitted by service personnel. Includes a chronology of the war and lists of those who served. Many photographs.

Norlin, George, Valiant For Truth. Laramie, WY: 1940.

The commencement speech of Dr. George Norlin, from the University of Colorado, June 10, 1940. In this 13-page text he emphasizes "truth" and Hitler's rise in Germany. He stresses the

need for the U.S. to pay heed to what is occurring in Europe. A very interesting view based on his own experiences in Germany in the early 1930s.

Reflections of World War II: 115th U.S. Cavalry, Wyoming National Guard/compiled and edited by students at Dean Morgan Junior High School in Casper, Wyoming. Casper, WY: Dean Morgan Junior High School, 1993.

This publication is composed mainly of biographical sketches and reproductions of newspaper accounts of men and women from the Casper area who served in or were employed by the U.S. Armed Forces during World War II.

United States. Alien Property Custodian. Annual Report. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942-1946.

The Office of Alien Property Custodian was established March 11, 1942 by Executive Order No. 9095. The powers exercised by this Office were derived from the Trading With the Enemy Act of October 6, 1917, as amended. The office was created to "deal with foreign-owned property problems."

United States. Alien Property Custodian. Final Determinations of the Vested Property Claims Committee, December 1943 to March 1946. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946.

United States. Alien Property Custodian. Terminal Report. Washington, DC: October 1946.

Summarizes the types and amounts of property held by the agency. Designed to inform the President and Attorney General with an account of problems and the current state of work in that office at the time it was transferred to the Department of Justice. United States. War Relocation Authority. WRA, A Story of Human Conservation. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946.

The final report of the Director of the War Relocation Authority (WRA). "An attempt at a comprehensive view of the WRA

program in its entirety." Includes a chronology of the evacuation and the Program 1942-1946. The appendix provides statistical information.

University of Wyoming. *Information for Veterans, 1946-47.* Laramie: University of Wyoming, 1946.

The 1946 issue of the *University of Wyoming Bulletin* with special information for veterans.

University of Wyoming. Report on University of Wyoming War Training for Women. Laramie: University of Wyoming, 1943.

A typescript publication describing the various war programs available for women. Lists courses and opportunities related to the area of study.

War Time Family Food Supply Plan for Wyoming People. Laramie: Agricultural Extension Service, University of Wyoming, 1943.

A pamphlet listing the average amounts of various foods required by one individual for a year. Also includes information on victory gardens, how to "Keep a Poultry Flock" and dairy and meat production.

When Johnny Comes Marching Home and Hangs His Gun on the Wall, Are We Going to Have a Job For Him Under Our System of Free Enterprise?: It Is Your Problem! Cheyenne: Wyoming Postwar Planning Committee, 1944.

An 8-page pamphlet which discusses the needs of Wyoming in the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. Includes "A Message from Governor Hunt." Also provides statistics on civilian employment and a list of what needs to be accomplished through postwar planning.

Wyoming In Step With Wartime Needs. Laramie: Agricultural Extension Service, 1944.

An 11-page pamphlet which stresses the importance of agriculture in the war effort. Discusses milk, beef, and victory gardens among other wartime concerns.



Wagon Wheels

A CONTEMPORARY JOURNEY ON THE OREGON TRAIL

BY CANDY MOULTON & BEN KERN
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Recent Articles About Wyoming

Compiled by Ron Diener, Jackson Hole Historical Society, WSHS

Architecture - Two fine pieces have appeared on related topics, a joy to read one after the other: Jon T. Gilpinen, The Front-Gabled Log Cabin and the Role of the Great Plains in the Formation of the Mountain West's Built Landscape," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 15, 1 (Winter 1995), 19-32; and Lauren McCroskey, "Of Faith and Stone: Old World Building Traditions in a New Land," *North Dakota History*, 62, 4 (Fall 1995), 28-35.

Historians of the West - For those who appreciate and follow the work of Patricia Nelson Limerick, they might want to read her rather biographical piece, "Place, Past, Perspective," *History News*, 51, 1(1996), 5-13. Hers was the keynote address at the 1995 annual meeting of the American Association of State and Local History. Merrill J. Mattes reviewed the history of the Oregon-California Trails Association, and his own part - a major one -in it, in a guest essay titled "OCTA Revolution," *Overland Journal*, 13, 4 (1995-6), 21-28. It is a rewrite and update of a speech that Mattes gave in 1983 to ten or a dozen people. His observations deserved a larger audience, and here - years later - he finally got one.

-Do not miss the delightful short piece by Joseph C. Porter, "Confessions of a Public Historian," *Journal of the West* 35, 1 (1996), 3-4, especially his distinctions and reconciliations between "historians and buffs."

Mountaineering - Originally published in *Scribner's Monthly* (June 1873), "The Ascent of Mount Hayden," by Nathaniel P. Langford, complete with original pictures and commentary, was reissued in *Snake River Echoes*, 24 (2 November 1995), 32-39.

Native Americans, the Role of Women - Once again, the editorial staff of *The Wind River Rendezvous*, 25, 3 (1995), have put together a very beautifully illustrated issue, this one titled "The Women's Role." Paintings by Vel Miller and Howard Terpoing (plus two by Frank C. McCarthy and one by John F. Clymer) grace the pages.

St. Stephens Indian Mission Celebrates the 25th Anniversary of *The Wind River Rendezvous* - The anniversary issue, 26, 1 (1996), celebrates the event with a review of past directors, with a special section on the refurbishing and history of the church building itself. Congratulations!

Transportation, Communication -The Wind River Mountaineer, 11, 3(1995), 4-28, has done it again with a beautiful article on early autos in Wyoming by Tom Bell, "From Buggies to Autos It Was a Long and Difficult Transition." Charles E. Hanson, "Fur Traders' Letters," The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, 31, 4 (Winter 1995), 7-8, picks up on the letter as a physical object and describes how epistolary exchange was conducted with a nice bit about envelopes and stamps.

Women's Suffrage - Jean Ford and James W. Hulse, "The First Battle for Women Suffrage in Nevada 1869-1871: Correcting and Expanding the Record," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 38, 3 (Fall 1995), 174-188. Why does this theme sound so familiar here in Wyoming? Good reading for comparison with Wyoming's experience.

BOOK REVIEWS

Cowboys from Indians - Reviewer William W. Savage, Jr., took on both the author and the publisher in his review of Peter Iverson, When Indians Became Cowboys Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994) in the American Historical Review 101, 1 (February 1996), 240-241. The negativity of the review is only surpassed by the criticism of the publisher. Savage focused on the lack of editorial review and improvement at University of Oklahoma Press, concluding with "Clio weeps, as must those waiting to be published." Frederick Jackson Turner [again] "Why cannot historians of the American frontier and/or the American West perform their scholarship without ceaseless recourse to often highly personal arguments about Turner himself, his devotees, and his critics?" Jackson K. Putnam asked in his review of Wilbur R. Jacobs, On Turner's Trail: 100 Years of Writing Western History (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994), in the American Historical Review, 101, 1 (February 1996), 241. It is a choice, well-phrased, sharp review of what has become [yawn] an unexciting topic.

Settlement of the West, a Biography - Pardon our Wyoming pride, but the mother, Ethel Waxham Love, of our leading senior geologist. David Love - and, of course, grandmother of our leading junior geologist, Charlie Love - has graced the cover of a collection of journals and letters, Ladies Choice Ethel Waxham's Journals and Letters, 1905-1910 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), edited by two of her granddaughters, Barbara Love and Frances Love Froidevaux. One of our favorite journals. Montana the Magazine of Western History, 45, 1 (1995), 77-78, published a favorable review by Sandra Schackel. She better; the introduction was written by Montana editor-in-chief; Charles B. Rankin!

Yellowstone - Check out the review by Mark Fiege of Mary Bradshaw Richards, *Camping Out in Yellowstone 1882* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994) in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 86, 4 (Fall 1995), 192.

If a subscription amount is given for an individual (or equivalent), the annual amount is noted. There may he additional or differential subscription rates (e.g., family, institutional, etc.).

American Historical Review, ISSN 0002-8762, 400 A Street S F, Washington DC 20003 \$65

Great Plains Quarterly, ISSN; 0275-7664, Center for Great Plains Studies, 1214 Oldfather Hall, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE 68588-0313: \$20

Journal of the West An Illustrated Quarterly Devoted to Western History and Culture, ISSN: 0022-5169, Department of History, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506-1 009: \$38

Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, ISSN: 0027-4135, 6321 Highway 20, Chadron, NE 69337: \$6

Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, ISSN; 0047-9462, 1650 N Virginia St, Reno NV 89503 \$25

North Dakota History: Journal of the Northern Plains, ISSN 0029-2710, State Historical Society of North Dakota, 612 East Boulevard, Bismarck, ND 58505: \$30

Oregon Historical Quarterly, ISSN: 0030-4727, 1200 SW Park Ave, Portland OR 97205: \$25

Overland Journal: Quarterly Journal of the Oregon-California Traits Association, ISSN: 0738-1093, P0 Box 1019, Independence MO 64051: \$30

Pacific Northwest Quarterly, ISSN; 0000-0000, 4045 Brooklyn Ave NE, Seattle WA 98105; \$22

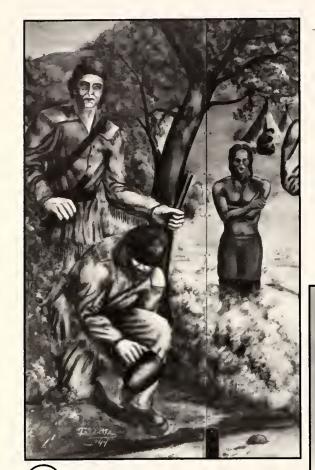
Persimmon Hill, ISSN: 0093-707X, 1700 NE 63d St, Oklahoma City OK 73111: \$20

Snake River Echoes: Upper Snake River Valley History, P.O. Box 244, Rexburg, ID 83440-0244: \$10

The Western Historical Quarterly, ISSN: 0043-3810, Utah State University, Logan UT 84322 \$40

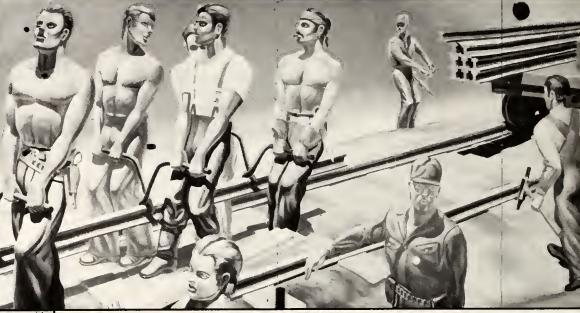
Wind River Mountaineer, Pioneer Museum, 630 Lincoln St., Lander WY 82520: \$16

Casper Air Base Murals





Interior, Service Club



Photos by Craig Pindell



The front cover is description 21 indicated on the facing page. The back cover is #16.

The twenty-one episodes of Wyoming history in the Casper Army Air Base mural. All descriptions are taken from the June 30, 1944, issue of the *Slip Stream*.

- 1. The mural history of Wyoming begins with the Arapahoe Indian legend of the beginning of the earth which Jez-a-ne-authau, the Creator, gave a lone Indian a country after causing the water to recede.
- 2. Shoshone Indians enjoyed buffalo hunting long before the white man.
- 3. The first known white man entering Wyoming was John Colter, of the Lewis-Clark expedition, who was amazed by the Yellowstone geysers.
- 4. White man discovered the wealth of the state after Robert Stuart's fur trading expedition through Wyoming to the Pacific Coast.
- 5. By 1824 fur trading had become a big venture in the West with thousands of trappers and traders flocking in to barter with the Indians.
- 6. At first trappers and traders came on foot and on horseback, but soon wagon trains were rolling across the prairies.
- 7. Soon after the opening of the new country, missionaries came to Christianize the Indians. Dr. Marcus Whitman and his wife were the first.
- 8. Without Kit Carson, the opening of the West would have been a much longer story.
- 9. Most tragic story of the westward trek of the white man was the Mormon hand-cart brigade of 600 men, women and children, most of whom were killed by a severe blizzard in Sweetwater County.
- 10. The population of the West had increased to such an extent that in 1851 the first stagecoach line was established, following the Oregon Trail through Wyoming to Salt Lake City.
- 11. A faster means of carrying mail was found in 1860 when the famous Pony Express was begun.
- 12. All through the early history of the West, the Indians and the white man were at war with Wyoming as the central battle-ground.
- 13. Wilderness and Indian opposition could not halt the push of civilization and in 1867 came the great Union Pacific railroad whose line reached the terminal point of Cheyenne, Wyoming.
- 14. Mrs. Eliza Swain, of Wyoming, was the first woman voter in the United States as a result of the "Female Suffrage" bill passed in 1869.
- 15. The same year John Allen Campbell was named the first territorial governor of the new territory of Wyoming.
- 16-17. Sweeping winds of Wyoming kept deep snows off the prairies during the winter months, encouraging the rapid growth of a huge cattle industry. (Mural 16 is reproduced on back cover)
- 18. By the late '80s sheep raising began to develop into a major industry.
- 19. Sheepherders lived in "sheep wagons" when they ranged their herds over the vast prairies.
- 20. Many years after the trappers found wealth in the state, petroleum was discovered and Wyoming once led all fields in average daily production.
- 21. Appropriately, the artists conclude this mural history of Wyoming with the coming of the Army Air Field to Casper, anticipating victory in this war and increasing activity in world commerce to Wyoming after a peace is assured. (Cover photo)

--continued from inside front cover--

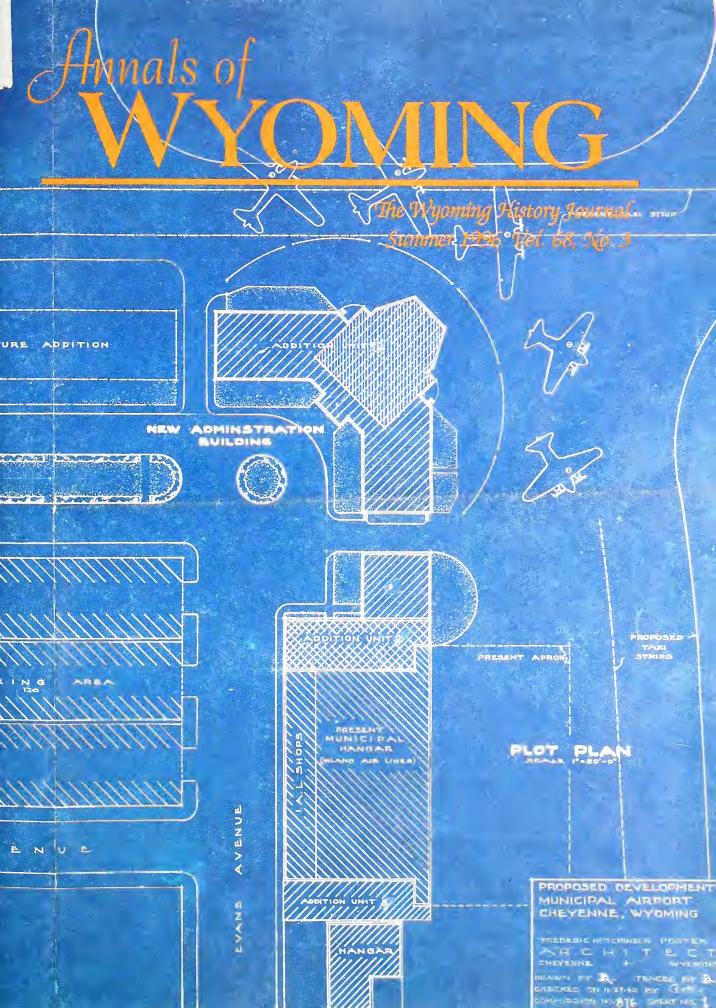
Private David Rosenblatt. They spent seven months researching and painting. Because the walls were celotex and too absorbent for oils, the artists devised a paint which was "a combination lecturer's chalk, pastel and solidified earth powders. . . The whole was sprayed with a fixative." The four artists found the chalk mixture to be "more adaptable, more expressive and colorful." The *Slip Stream* featured the mural in its June 30, 1994, issue.

The mural is still an impressive sight, having retained much of its original color. For years the Square Dancers Club of Casper has used the service club for their head-quarters. According the a report of the mural's history written by Angelene Ford in 1988 and sent to the editors, the square dancers "saved the building from becoming a carpentry shop in which the murals faced destruction or mutilation as shelves and cabinets were built over them." A letter published in the *Casper Star-Tribune* written by one of the square dancers stated that the mural's "excellent condition today testifies to the meticulous care and protection they have received from the square dancers over the years."

The history of the service club mural illustrates the point that the preservation of Wyoming's history is a cooperative effort. More than fifty years ago Casper Army Air Base personnel believed it was important for the men and women passing through the base's gates to understand the history of their new home. Four non-Wyoming artists studied the state's history and developed an appreciation for it which can be seen in the twenty-one episodes of Wyoming history recorded in the mural. The Square Dancers Club of Casper continues to preserve this important historical document from the war years. Members of the Wyoming State Historical Society and a photographer from the Wyoming State Archives spent their time ensuring the story of one of Wyoming's last vestiges of the war years would be told.

Just as the mural at Casper Air Base resulted from the belief in the importance of the study of Wyoming's past, this issue of the *Wyoming History Journal*, presented by the Wyoming State Historical Society, is the result of the same belief. The efforts of the Society, the Wyoming State Museum, the Wyoming Council for the Humanities, and such dedicated Wyoming historians as Michael Cassity, Dave Kathka, Ann Noble, and Dudley Gardner have made it possible for us to look back fifty years so we can study the effects of World War II on our state and understand the sacrifices made by those who helped preserve our freedoms during World War II, both in uniform and on the homefront. We also hope it will allow us to understand how the war changed Wyoming and what that means for the state as we approach a new century.





Wyoming History Journal and Annals of Wyoming Merge

This issue marks the merger of Annals of Wyoming and the Wyoming History Journal. Carl Hallberg, historian archivist in the Division of Cultural Resources, State Department of Commerce, edited most of the articles appearing in this issue. In future issues, Hallberg will serve as book review editor. Melinda Brazzale designed the articles on the Cheyenne airport, David E. Jackson, and the Mormon wagon companies. Her expertise

will be called upon from time to time in future issues.

The first issue of Annals of Wyoming was published in 1925 and, in 1953, the Annals became the official publication of the Wyoming State Historical Society. The Wyoming History Journal was founded a year ago as the official publication of the Society following severance of connections between the Society and the Wyoming Department of Commerce. In the summer of 1996, the State and the Society entered into a joint agreement to publish Annals of Wyoming: The Wyoming History Journal. This is the initial product of that merger.

The partnership continues a tradition established even before 1953 when the present State Historical Society was founded. Robert C. Morris, the first secretary of the "Wyoming Historical Society" in 1898, concluded in his annual report for that year: "[I]t is not unreasonable to hope that the Wyoming Historical Society may accomplish great results in future years. All that is necessary is that a generous State shall extend to the Society its

fostering care and enlightened protection."

Members of the Wyoming State Historical Society have been unstinting in their support of the Wyoming History Journal during the past year and we are confident they will continue to do so as we enter this new era of Society-State cooperation. We thank the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, for furnishing office space for the Journal. Offices of the Journal have now become the offices of Annals of Wyoming: The Wyoming History Journal. We acknowledge the financial contributions made by numerous friends of the journal and hope we may merit their continued support. Our thanks, too, to the authors of the quality writing such as those appearing in this issue. Thanks, also, to Rick Ewig, my valuable co-editor for Wyoming History Journal. Both of us have enjoyed our "volunteer stint" as co-editors.

Regardless of who will be editing future editions, we are confident that future editors will remember that the Annals is for the members. It is not an instrument for personal advancement nor should it be edited to please a small clique of academics who already have scholarly journals piling up, mostly unread, on their desks. The Annals will continue to publish articles about Wyoming history written by scholars as well as lay historians. We are confident that with your help and support, Annals will be the journal to which you will turn for well-written, interesting articles about Wyoming's history.

Phil Roberts

Editor

Phil Roberts

Guest Editor for this Issue::

Carl Hallberg

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The Wyoming History Journal Summer 1996 Vol. 68, No. 3

The Black 14: Williams v. Eaton -- A Personal Recollection

By James E. Barrett

2

One of the participants in the incident responds to the article "Fired by Conscience: The Black 14 Incident at the University of Wyoming," published in the Winter, 1996, issue of Wyoming History Journal. His recollections provide a wholly different view of the incident that rocked the University of Wyoming in October, 1969.

Cheyenne versus Denver: City Rivalry and the Quest for Transcontinental Air Routes By Roger D. Launius and Jessie L. Embry

The two cities vied for air supremacy and, initially, Cheyenne held the edge.

Out of Obscurity: A Look at the Life of David E. Jackson, Field Captain of the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade

By Vivian L. Talbot

Little is known of David E. Jackson, the mountain man for whom Jackson Hole was named. Talbot unveils some of the mystery from the life of this legendary mountain man.

On the Heels of the Handcart Tragedy: Mormondom's Forgotten 1856 Wagon Companies

By Melvin L. Bashmore

Historians have overlooked some aspects of Mormon travel in the 1850s, emphasizing the celebrated incidents that ended in tragedy. Bashmore rights the imbalance in this view of the wagon companies that made it.

Book Reviews

ISSN: 1086-7368

Iverson, When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching, reviewed by Jerry A. Davis	50
Szasz, Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker, reviewed by Bobbalee Schuler-Hughes	51
Opie, Ogallala: Water for a Dry Land, reviewed by Phil Roberts	52
Shinn, The Story of a Mine, as Illustrated by the Great Comstock Lode of Nevada, reviewed by Robert Rosenberg	52
Reneau, The Adventures of Moccasin Joe: True Life Story of George S. Howard, reviewed by Merrill J. Mattes	53
Richards, Camping Out in the Yellowstone, 1882, reviewed by Christina Stopka	53
Bitton, The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays, reviewed by Melvin T. Smith	54
Hirt, A Conspiracy of Optimism: Management of the National Forests since WWII, reviewed by Melody Webb	55
Launius and Thatcher, Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History, reviewed by Wayne K. Hinton	55

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a personal recollection by James E. Barrett

More than 26 years ago, I was involved in an incident that shook the University of Wyoming and the entire State of Wyoming. It changed the fortunes of the Wyoming football program and that of many student-athletes enrolled in the program. This is my story of the "Black 14."

On Thursday, October 16, 1969, I was serving my third year as Wyoming Attorney General. At the University of Wyoming late that afternoon, following football practice, Joe Williams, a black tri-captain, contacted Head Coach Lloyd Eaton and informed him that the black football players planned to wear black armbands during the football game scheduled to be played in Laramie, Wyoming, between Wyoming and Brigham Young University on Saturday, October 18, 1969. Prior thereto, on October 14, 1969, Coach Eaton had received a hand-delivered copy of a letter written by Willie S. Black, Chancellor, Black Student Alliance on the campus, objecting to racist beliefs of the Mormon Church, and demanding that the University of Wyoming refuse to permit the use of its facilities to host BYU and that WAC athletic directors refuse to schedule games with BYU as long as the church continued its racist policies.

Williams told Eaton that the reasons for the armband protest were the religious beliefs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon Church), which owns and operates Brigham Young University, that blacks could not achieve the priesthood and were denied other areas of church worship. Eaton informed Williams that the armbands were not to be worn during the game, that the football field was no place for a religious demonstration, and that the black players could vent their resentment on the playing field during the game. I obtained this information from Coach Eaton.

Apparently, the fourteen black football players met the evening of October 16th and determined that they would wear the armbands on their uniforms during the Wyo-BYU football game, regardless of Coach Eaton.

The following morning, Friday, October 17, 1969, the fourteen black football players, wearing black armbands, went to the athletic department and asked to meet with Coach Eaton. A meeting was held in the fieldhouse during which remarks were made by the black players regarding the Mormon Church and its racial bias against blacks. One of the players remarked that he was preparing to join the church. Thereupon, Coach Eaton responded to the effect, "Isn't that something. You plan to join that church and abide by its beliefs for the rest of your life but you plan to demonstrate against it tomorrow." Eaton stated to the players that religious protests could not play any part in college football. The meeting ended after Coach Eaton, convinced that the fourteen were insistent on wearing the black armbands during the football game, notified the fourteen that they were no longer members of the football squad. I obtained this information from Coach Eaton. The media tabbed the incident as the "Black 14." It resulted in prolonged litigation known as Williams v. Eaton. The incident and case received extensive national and international attention and was the subject of many articles.

Live testimony given by the black football players and affidavits executed by them tell a different version of the fieldhouse meeting on October 17, 1969. That testimony was that the fourteen black players had come to Coach

Eaton's office that morning simply to discuss the matter with him and to obtain his advice. Some stated that if Eaton had told them not to wear the armbands, they would have followed his advice. Instead, they said, the meeting in the fieldhouse lasted only about five minutes, during which Coach Eaton made racial remarks such as that they could go back to black welfare. They contend that Coach Eaton refused to talk with them and that he discharged them from the team without regard for their feelings

Soon after the terminations, Willie Black, Joe Williams and others demanded to be heard out by the President of the university, William D. Carlson. President Carlson met with Athletic Director Glen J. "Red" Jacoby and then with Willie Black, Williams and the other affected players. As a result, Governor Stanley K. Hathaway was contacted and a decision was made by C.E. "Jerry" Hollon, President of the Board of Trustees, to call an emergency meeting of the University Board of Trustees in Old Main on the campus Friday evening, October 17. Unfortunately, a snow storm developed that day preventing some members of the Board from attending. However, all but one member of the Board participated in the meeting, either in person or by speakerphone. Governor Hathaway was present. The meeting was presided over by Jerry Hollon.

The meeting of the Board of Trustees was thorough and exhausting. It lasted until about 4:30 a.m. on October 18, 1969. Governor Hathaway, President Carlson and the Board met with Coach Eaton, Athletic Director Jacoby and the coaching staff for about an hour and fully explored all of the facts and circumstances of Coach Eaton's dismissal of the black fourteen. They then met with the black fourteen and Willie S. Black and fully heard from each of them. That meeting lasted in excess of two hours. Finally, at the request of the fourteen, Governor Hathaway, accompanied by President Carlson, met with the fourteen in an adjacent room in Old Main. Governor Hathaway again inquired of them whether they insisted upon wearing the armbands during the football game. Governor Hathaway had predicated the question with his observation that the state and the university could not condone or support a demonstration against any religion or otherwise interfere with freedom of religion. Even so, the fourteen insisted on the right to wear the armbands during the game. In addition, four or five of the fourteen responded negatively when Governor Hathaway asked whether, disregarding the BYU game, they would return to the Wyoming football team. None of the fourteen indicated that he would return to the football team if Coach Eaton remained as Head Coach. Willie Hysaw, one of the fourteen, asked Governor Hathaway whether he was a racist.

After the meeting with the fourteen players, Governor Hathaway and President Carlson returned to the Board meeting room and reported the conversation to the Board. The Board then voted unanimously to support Coach Eaton's action, and, at the same time, to offer the fourteen black athletes continuation of their athletic scholarships to the end of the semester and other scholarships if they desired

to continue with their education at the university thereafter. The fourteen were informed of this immediately. I obtained this information from Governor Hathaway, President Carlson, Jerry Hollon, Alfred M. Pence, William R. Jones, and Eph U. Johnson, members of the Board of Trustees.

When I was informed of the situation in the early morning of October 18th, my first thought was that the university could not permit any of its representatives - and I knew that the WAC Code described student-athletes as "official representatives of their institutions" - to use its playing field to protest against a church or religious belief. I believed that if Wyoming officials knew, as they did in this case, that the purpose behind the armband display was to protest religious beliefs, they were obligated to prevent it. In my mind, the First Amendment to the United States Constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech was subservient, in this case, to the principle of complete neutrality in matters of religion. It is well here to recall that the First Amendment provides:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech; or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

I was aware that Art. 21, § 25 of the Wyoming Constitution guarantees perfect toleration of religious sentiment and provides that no inhabitant of Wyoming shall ever be molested in person or property on account of his or her mode of religious worship and that Art. 1, § 18 guarantees free exercise of religion and worship without discrimination or preference. I knew that the Supreme Court of the United States had mandated that governments must display neutrality toward religion and religious institutions, rather than hostility, and that the neutrality required need not stem from callous indifference to religion, but may at times be benevolent.1 The Supreme Court made it clear that the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment prohibits governments from: making laws establishing religion; taking action preferring one religion over another; taking action preferring religion generally as against non-belief; and exercising legislative power respecting religious beliefs or their expression.² I recalled that the University is an agency or arm of the State.3

Within several days after the Wyoming-BYU football game, I was informed that Mr. William Waterman, an attorney who represented the NAACP, of Pontiac, Michigan, was on the Wyoming campus investigating the case on behalf of the fourteen black student athletes. I was told that Mr. Waterman had been received enthusiastically and sympathetically by most of the faculty of the University of Wyoming College of Law, and that he spent about a week on the campus. He had handled considerable civil rights litigation for the NAACP.

On October 30, 1969, Mr. Waterman, joined by

Cheyenne, Wyoming, attorneys, Charles E. Graves, J. R. Smyth, and Weston W. Reeves called at my office in the capitol building in Cheyenne. Mr. Waterman informed me that this visit was a "last chance" for the state and the university to remedy the wrong done to the fourteen black players' First Amendment rights of free speech and expression. He stated that in order to avoid a lawsuit, it was necessary that the fourteen be immediately restored to the football team without condition, that Coach Eaton's "no demonstration" rule be abolished, there be no further interference with their protest movement, and that Coach Eaton be fired. Mr. Waterman proclaimed that the case was absolutely controlled by the Supreme Court's decision in Tinker v. Des Moines School District.4 In that case, the Court upheld the First Amendment right of school students to wear black armbands in protest of the Vietnam conflict, absent any evidence of disruption of normal school routine or impingement upon the rights of other students.

In light of the fact that Mr. Waterman was using the occasion of our first meeting to deliver a series of ultimatums, not the least of which was the firing of Wyoming's highly respected football coach, I concluded that Mr. Waterman was oblivious to the First Amendment's command that the state and its officials must maintain strict neutrality in matters of religion and religious beliefs, and that, in particular, they cannot condone, support or permit the use of state facilities to display hostility toward any church or any religion. It seemed to me that Mr. Waterman was so singularly focused on the freedom of speech provisions of the First Amendment that he was blinded to the First Amendment's religious neutrality requirements. In response, I stated that the demands were unacceptable to my clients but that Coach Eaton was ready and willing, at any time, to meet with the fourteen individually to explore the possibility of their reinstatement to the team. Mr. Waterman stated that there would be no such meetings. Oddly, however, he volunteered that he was convinced that "there is not a discriminatory bone in Lloyd Eaton's body."

That same afternoon, Mr. Waterman filed a 42 U.S.C. § 1983 civil rights lawsuit on behalf of the fourteen in the United States District Court for the District of Wyoming in Cheyenne, which, in legal jargon, was titled "Williams v. Eaton," wherein the black fourteen were plaintiffs and the state, the university, President Carlson, Coach Eaton, members of the Board of Trustees and Red Jacoby were the defendants. After filing the suit, Mr. Waterman held a press conference. Remarks were made with racial overtones. It

¹ Abington School Dist. v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 203 (1963); McCollum v. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203 (1948); Everson v. Board of Education, 330 U.S. 1 (1947).

² Engel v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421 (1962); Zorach v. Clauson, 343 U.S. 306 (1952); McCollum; Cantwell v. Connecticut, 310 U.S. 296 (1940).

³ Hjorth Royalty Co. v. Trustees of Univ. of Wyo., 222 P. 9 (Wyo. 1924).

^{4 393} U.S. 503 (1969)

is important to recall, however, that the civil rights complaint did not contain a single allegation of racial discrimination. The primary, principal grievance was that the fourteen had been denied their First Amendment right of free speech and expression. The complaint sought money damages of \$75,000 for each plaintiff totaling \$1,050,000 and punitive damages of \$50,000. It also sought injunctive and declaratory relief asking the court to order the players' reinstatement to the football team without conditions. Paragraph 18 of the complaint alleged that:

Plaintiffs will suffer further irreparable harm from the unlawful suspension and dismissal in that their ability to promote their careers, practice and perform their skills has been denied them, and the said dismissal has caused them to lose their chance to be observed by professional scouts as potential professional football players during the 1969 football season.

After the complaint was filed, I interviewed Governor Hathaway, President Carlson, Jerry Hollon, Coach Eaton and members of his coaching staff, including Fritz Shurmur and Paul Roach, and members of the Board of Trustees. I was impressed with Coach Eaton's attitude, concern and sincerity. I found him to be intense, direct, precise and caring. The loyalty and close-knit relationship between Eaton and his staff was obvious. Little wonder, I thought, that Coach Eaton and his staff had recruited some of the finest student-athletes to the University of Wyoming from across the country and had established one of the nation's elite college football programs. In 1968, Eaton's team had enjoyed an undefeated season and barely lost to a highly rated Louisiana State team in the Sugar Bowl, 20-13. That game ended with Wyoming threatening on LSU's five yard line. Many of us believed that the 1969 team was even greater. It had powered over its first four opponents and was one of the top ranked teams in the country. Even without the fourteen black athletes, most of whom were starters, Wyoming managed to defeat BYU, 40 to 7. From that point on, however, the season went downhill. Injuries and the absence of the Black 14 depleted Wyoming's once bright 1969 football fortunes. Wyoming lost its last four games, all on the road.

An evidentiary hearing was set by the late United States District Judge Ewing T. Kerr of the District of Wyoming, at 9 a.m., on November 10, 1969, to determine whether to issue a temporary restraining order directing the defendants to restore the fourteen to the football team, with all constitutional rights and privileges.

The black fourteen were present in the courtroom on November 10 for the hearing. However, because Mr. Waterman's plane had been delayed out of Pontiac, Michigan, Mr. Graves asked for a continuance of the hearing to 1:30 p.m. After granting the motion, the court requested that the attorneys meet with him in his chambers. Mr. Graves and Mr. Reeves appeared on behalf of the black fourteen. I appeared on behalf of the state, university and all other defendants. Judge Kerr inquired of us whether there

was any way to settle the case. I responded that Coach Eaton had always said that he was willing at any time to meet with the black fourteen individually on a person-toperson basis regarding their return to the team. Judge Kerr stated that perhaps the parties should attempt such meetings. Mr. Graves responded that he could not agree to such meetings because Coach Eaton had such a strong personality that he would take advantage of the black fourteen. He ventured, however, that such meetings might be possible if the attorneys were present. I was shocked at this suggestion, and remarked that if things were to be worked out between the coach and the players, it had to be done between them personally, and that the lawyers should not try the lawsuit at such meetings! However, as a compromise 1 suggested that perhaps Judge Kerr might consent to sit in on the meetings. Judge Kerr stated that he was agreeable. Mr. Graves said that such meetings might be agreeable but that the decision would be up to Waterman, as lead counsel.

Judge Kerr then asked me whether Coach Eaton could come to Cheyenne that afternoon for the meetings. I said that I would phone him right away. I went to an adjacent room and contacted Coach Eaton in his office. He was both anxious and willing to come to Chevenne for the meetings. He did ask, however, if it would be agreeable to bring his entire coaching staff so that the coach who recruited the particular player could also participate. I told him that unless he heard otherwise from me, he should plan to bring the other coaches. Eaton asked when the meetings would be held and I replied that they would be early afternoon if the plaintiffs and Mr. Waterman agreed to them. Coach Eaton informed me that he would remain in his office near the phone. His tone was upbeat and positive. He said he was prepared to drive to Cheyenne in a moment's notice. I related this conversation to Judge Kerr, Mr. Graves and Mr. Reeves. 1 felt confident that the meetings would be held and that matters would be resolved that day. I had been told many times that the fourteen were very aggrieved that they were no longer able to demonstrate their football skills in the presence of professional football scouts.

I came back to the courtroom well before 1:30 p.m., in order to speak with Mr. Waterman about the proposed meetings. When he finally arrived in the courtroom, we exchanged handshakes but he did not mention the meetings. As time continued to run, I approached Mr. Waterman and asked him about the meetings between Coach Eaton and the fourteen, individually, with Judge Kerr sitting in. He eurtly replied, "There will be no such meetings." He offered no explanation for his abrupt dismissal of the proposed settlement meetings. Mr. Waterman did not indicate that he had informed the fourteen of the proposed meetings with Coach Eaton and Judge Kerr and that they had rejected our proposal. I believed at the moment and I maintain today that a golden opportunity to resolve the dispute to the satisfaction of all concerned was lost by Mr. Waterman's unqualified rejection of the proposed settlement meetings.

With that, I contacted Judge Kerr's secretary and informed her of Mr. Waterman's response and I asked an assistant to phone Coach Eaton and advise him of the response. The assistant reported to me that Coach Eaton was very disappointed.

The November 10 hearing proceeded after Mr. Waterman rejected the settlement meetings. The black fourteen presented the testimony of Joe Williams, who identified himself as their spokesman. He made it clear that he had enrolled at the University of Wyoming to play football because of Wyoming's winning record and in the hope that one day he could play professional football. He pointed out that professional scouts for the Dallas Cowboys, the Los Angeles Rams and the Baltimore Colts had already contacted him and he was concerned about not being seen during the balance of the 1969 season. He explained the grievance of the black fourteen against the Mormon Church policy denying priesthood to blacks and that certain sacraments of the church were not available to blacks. He also testified that during his October 16 meeting with Coach Eaton that Eaton had told him "There won't be any trouble unless you wear black arm bands on the field." He specifically denied that the fourteen had insisted on wearing the black arm bands during the football game, stating that "No, we didn't plan to." On my cross-examination, Williams made it clear that he had not been informed about the legal position of the state and university relative to the wearing of the armbands. Because of evidentiary rules, I could not examine him as to whether he had refused to meet with Coach Eaton and Judge Kerr that day to discuss settlement of the lawsuit, or whether he was even aware of the proposed settlement meeting.

As I stood in the courtroom, I looked toward the jury box where the black fourteen were seated with front row views. I took it for granted that their attorneys had informed them of the proposed meetings with Coach Eaton and Judge Kerr that afternoon and I wondered what they could gain by refusing to meet. To this day, I believe that if the black fourteen had been permitted to discuss their needs and desires and their future with Coach Eaton and other members of the coaching staff on November 10, 1969, the whole matter would have been resolved favorably to all concerned. If the fourteen had been left in the dark about the settlement meetings, what could have been the motive for such a decision?

A few weeks following the November 10 hearing, when registration for the second semester at the university was ongoing, I received a call from a member of the university Registrar's Office in Laramie. He related that two of the black fourteen had been in his office that day inquiring about registration and that both were unhappy that they had not been able to play football the balance of the season. This individual asked them why they did not meet with Coach Eaton and Judge Kerr at the courthouse in Cheyenne on November 10th. Their response was that they had not heard of any such meetings but that they would have met with Coach Eaton that day had they known.

In addition to Williams' testimony at the November 10 hearing, Tony McGee, Ivy Moore and Willie Hysaw, three of the black fourteen, signed a joint affidavit denying that they had stated during their meeting with the trustees on October 18th that they had "absolutely" refused to return to the football team unless they were permitted to wear the arm bands and that Coach Eaton must be fired. Their main grievance about their dismissal from the team was that they had been unable to demonstrate their athletic skills before professional football scouts.

The state and university presented their case refuting the testimony of the black fourteen and described in detail the events leading up to the Wyoming-BYU football game on October 18, 1969. President Carlson testified in detail. Affidavits signed by Governor Hathaway, members of the Board of Trustees, and others, were admitted in evidence. All of them asserted that the black fourteen had insisted on wearing the black armbands on the football field and that Coach Eaton be fired.

The November 10 hearing had commenced at 1:30 p.m. Closing arguments of counsel were concluded before a crowded courtroom at about 7 p.m.

Judge Kerr took matters under advisement and on November 17, 1969, he entered an order denying the black fourteen's application for a temporary restraining order restoring them to the football team. The black fourteen thereafter filed their notice of appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit. During the pendency of the appeal, three of the black fourteen, John Griffin, Don Meadows, and Ted Williams, withdrew from the lawsuit. They had met individually with Coach Eaton, successfully completed spring football practice, and were full members of the Wyoming football squad for the 1970 football season.

On November 20, 1969, the state and university filed their Motion to Dismiss and/or for Summary Judgment, together with a detailed brief. The black fourteen filed detailed briefs in opposition. On March 25, 1970, the district court entered its "Order Granting Motion to Dismiss, With Findings." This is reported as Williams v. Eaton, 310 F. Supp. 1342 (D. Wyo. 1970). The district court's Order was affirmed in all respects on appeal, but remanded to the district court for a factual determination as to whether the black fourteen were dismissed from the team because of their demand to wear the armbands during the game, observing that ". . . such close and delicate constitutional questions should be decided when the facts are fully developed at trial." I recall that in my closing remarks to the appellate panel, I said "When and if the time should come that it is permissible to protest or criticize any religion or any religious beliefs on the playing field, that will be the time to terminate all NCAA athletic events."

The court of appeals affirmed the dismissal of all claims against the State of Wyoming under the doctrine of sovereign immunity set forth in the Eleventh Amendment and the money damages claims against the individual defendants because they were sued in their official capacities,

holding that the "action in essence is for the recovery of money from the state." 5

Upon remand, various persons were placed under oath in depositions and an evidentiary hearing was held in the district court on September 27 and 28, 1971. Honorable Clarence A. Brimmer, Jr., was then serving as Wyoming Attorney General. The black fourteen were represented by the law firm of Graves, Smyth and Reeves. The fourteen presented the testimony of Willie Black, Melvin R. Hamilton, C. E. Hollon (adverse witness), Philip White, and Joseph R. Geraud (adverse witness), together with various exhibits. The state and university presented the testimony of William D. Carlson, Alfred M. Pence, Joseph R. Geraud and C.E. Hollon. The testimony was, for the most part, a "replay" of that presented at the November 10th hearing.

Following briefing and arguments of counsel, the district court dismissed the black fourteen's lawsuit. The district court's findings of fact 14 and 15 were challenged on appeal by the fourteen. Findings of Fact 14 was that, based on all of the evidence, "there is no merit in the contention raised by the Plaintiffs . . . [that] the tone of the purposes of the black arm band display was that of protesting against the alleged cheap shots and name-calling charged to members of the Brigham Young University football team; on the contrary, the court finds that such allegation is without merit and that the sole and only purpose in the arm band display was that of protesting against alleged religious beliefs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. ... and Brigham Young University, which the Plaintiffs consider one and the same, and the court further finds that each of the Plaintiff football players refused to participate in the football game with Brigham Young University as members of the football team of the University of Wyoming unless they were permitted to demonstrate against the religious beliefs of the Mormon Church by wearing black armbands upon the playing field." Finding 15 was that each of the fourteen had refused to play football at Wyoming if Lloyd Eaton remained as Head Football Coach.6

The final chapter in the litigation was written by the United States Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit, when it affirmed the district court in *Williams v. Eaton.*⁷ The court

held that the district court's findings of fact were not clearly erroneous and on the legal issue involving the First Amendment, the court ruled:

...we are persuaded that the Trustees' decision was lawful within the limitations of the Tinker case itself. Their decision protected against invasion of the rights of others by avoiding a hostile expression to them by some members of the University team. It was in furtherance of the policy of religious neutrality by the State. It denied only the request for the armband display by some members of the team, on the field and during the game. In those limited circumstances, we conclude that the Trustees' decision was in conformity with the Tinker case and did not violate the First amendment right of expression of the plaintiffs. . . . We do not base our holding on the presence of any violence or disruption... Instead, the trial court referred only to the mandate of complete neutrality in religion and religious matters as the basis for the court's ruling8

The black fourteen did not seek to appeal to the United States Supreme Court. Several years later, Judge Kerr inquired of me why the fourteen had not accepted Coach Eaton's offer to meet with them at the courthouse on November 10. I could only relate that Mr. Waterman, lead attorney for the fourteen had simply informed me that "There will be no such meetings."

How different might have been the future for the black fourteen, the coaches and the university if only those players had met with Coach Eaton, the assistant coach who had recruited them, and Judge Kerr on November 10, 1969? I have little doubt that the players would have been restored to the team, and the prospects for the program, the coaches, the university and all of the student-athletes in the football program would have been forever brighter.

- ⁵ See Williams v. Eaton, 443 F.2d 422 (10th Cir. 1971).
- ⁶ See Williams v. Eaton, 333 F. Supp. 107 (D. Wyo. 1971).
- ⁷ 468 F.2d 1079 (10th Cir. 1972).
- 8 468 F.2d at 1084.

The author is now a Senior Judge on the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit. He lives in Cheyenne.



First flight inaugurating contract Air Mail, Cheyenne-Pueblo route. 5:00 A.M., May 31, 1926, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

HEYENNE versus ENVER

City Rivalry and the Quest for Transcontinental Air Routes'

by Roger D. Launius and Jessie L. Embry

A stand-up comedian, laughing at the hazards of changing planes in Denver, commented that those bound for heaven might also have to pass through the mile-high city.2 The comedian did not know, however, that the Denver and Colorado business community and political leaders had struggled for years to bring air transportation to the area. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Denver's chief competitor had been Cheyenne. The securing of the major Trans-Mississippi airline liub by Denver was never a sure thing, but it eventually resulted from the serious efforts of a dedicated cadre of leaders in both the private and public sectors. It was a hard-fought effort, because at the time Cheyenne was the aviation capital of the Rockies. By the beginning of the 1930s, however, the focus was shifting from Cheyenne to Denver and setting up the present air transport structure of the American West. This effort is the focus of this essay.

Throughout the nineteenth century, trails, wagon trains, and stage lines passed through the northern Rocky Mountains as the nation expanded between the Atlantic and the Pacific.3 Rail lines allowed Americans to travel across and to develop the Rocky Mountain West with greater felicity and efficiency. During the later third of the nineteenth century the transcontinental railroad passed through the Rockies, and the region's importance as a transportation center grew. After the linkage of east and

west near Promontory Point, Utah, in 1869, the proliferation of railways in all directions from the Union Pacific and Central Pacific tracks soon linked the intermountain west.4

Denver's place as a transportation center, however, has been a recent development. In the nineteenth century, planners for the transcontinental rail lines bypassed the Colorado capital because of the difficulty of transiting the Rockies. John Evans, a promotor who arrived there in 1862, began to develop

2. This dialogue was from an act of an unnamed comedian on "Short Attention Span Theater" on Com-

edy General, June 17, 1993.

Jr., The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the *Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-60* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), pp. 302-37.

^{1.} The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance of grants from the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, and the College of Family, Home, and Social Sciences at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, to support research undertaken to write this article.

^{3.} Considerable historical literature supports this assertion. See, Robert E. Reigel and Robert G. Athearn, America Moves West (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); Richard A. Bartlett, The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 275-340; W. Turrentine Jackson, "Wells Fargo's Pony Expresses," Journal of the West 11 (July 1972): 405-36; John D. Unruh,

^{4.} See "The Last Spike is Driven" issue, Utah Historical Quarterly 37 (Winter 1969); Oscar O. Winther, The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1890 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964); Oscar O. Winther, Via Western Express and Stagecoach (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1945); Alfred Chandler, The Railroads: The Nation's First Big Business (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962); Albro Martin, James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); William W. Howard, "A Picturesque American Railway," Harper's Weekly February 4, 1888: pp. 78-79; Bartlett, The New Country, pp. 327-40.

feeder lines. In the 1870s he, with the assistance of other entrepreneurs, backed the construction of the Denver Pacific from Denver to the larger and more prosperous transcontinental line anchor at Cheyenne, Wyoming, about 100 miles north. He also fostered the construction of a line south, the Denver, Texas, and Fort Worth. He browbeat, cajoled, and occasionally stiff-armed business leaders in the Colorado Territory to invest in the infrastructure required to remake Denver.5

eanwhile Cheyenne was the centerpiece of the transporta L tion system in the Northern Rockies throughout the nineteenth century. Little more than a single house in July 1867, it was four years later a community of some 3,000 people, a community created by the construction of the Union Pacific Railway as it moved west to link with the Central Pacific in Utah.6 The construction of the Lincoln Highway, U.S. Highway 30, further solidified the city's place on the east-west transcontinental transportation system.

Cheyenne leaders recognized the importance of travel to the region. The Wyoning Eagle reported in 1928:

It was only a few short years ago that the pioneers who developed the West, came out of the east in their prairie schooners. Now we spin about in fast trains, automobiles, airplanes, covering quickly distances that used to require many days. . . . The West is fortunate that there has been no loss of the spirit that filled the hearts of our pioneer men and women. The West is still the birthplace of new thoughts, new ideas, new purposes.7

This editorial included a new form of transportation – air travel.

After the January 1910 Los Angeles airshow, thrill-seeking and businesspromoting westerners began gushing about the possibilities of aviation in the West. Immediately following that highly successful show, other western city leaders booked the little French aviator Louis Paulhan and whoever else would fly in their communities for demonstrations.8 Denver was delighted when Paulhan agreed to come there after the Los Angeles airshow. One commentator explained, "Denver is aviation mad."9 Stories circulated about how

Paulhan planned to circle Pike's Peak and to break the altitude record, a not insignificant challenge because of the air density of the mile high city.¹⁰ Capturing beautifully the idea of progress that aviation signaled for many westerners, the Denver Post editorialized the day before Paulhan's flight that in fifty years air travel would be as common as rail travel was in 1910 and that flight "should [provide] people [of] the future with dreams of many strange things."11

Paulhan's exploits in Denver proved less than heroic. He had considerable difficulty taking off in his fragile, underpowered, yellow biplane that bore a striking resemblance to a box kite, mostly because of Denver's elevation. It was frustrating to the audience. He finally made only six short flights of a few minutes each, failed to circle Pike's Peak, and crashed into the crowd, injuring three spectators. If he were the harbinger of a bright future based on aeronautical transportation, it was lost on most of those present. Even so, more than 50,000 Denver residents flooded Overland Park to see him fly, but when he took off, it was like a collective sigh of relief for the city. For Denver in 1910 just seeing flight was exciting enough.¹² One grand dame of Denver society summarized the perceptions of most residents as she left after the second flight: "I'm satisfied.... I know now that flying is possible and that's what I went to find out. I wouldn't have cared if he had flown only one little time."13

nterestingly, from these exception ally rudimentary flights emerged speculations about the possibilities of air travel. "We are on the eve of a surpassing era in history, and "the Denver Post told its readers, "Paulhan is here in Denver as its herald."14 Even after Paulhan crashed in his attempt to miss the crowd, and the paper declared, "Notwithstanding many disappointments of the Paulhan's visit, the general opinion is that to see Louis Paulhan... added a new lyric to the sum of life's wonders [and] was worth all the admission one might be able to pay. May he come again – and that soon."15

Denver was also interested in the coast-to-coast flyers coming to their city during a 1910 transcontinental race sponsored by William Randolph Hearst,

the San Francisco publishing gia Hearst had put up \$50,000 of pr money for any pilot who could fly cro country in less than thirty days. To tice any takers to make the city a st on their transcontinental route, the D ver Post urged the city to raise \$10,0 and offered the first \$1,000 toward the goal. With that beginning the city Denver also agreed to come up w \$1,000. The paper declared, "It will the biggest, brightest feather ever Denver if this city is put on the line the first transcontinental aeronau tour." Accordingly, the next day's nev paper reported that if the planes got Kansas they might as well continue Denver, adding, "It's for the glory Denver" to be on the route. 16 No o won the Hearst coast-to-coast mon however, and no aviators took a ro through Denver.

But Denver residents were still terested in air travel. In November 19 three Wright pilots, Ralph Johnsto Walter Brookins, and Arch Hoxs brought a flying circus to town. Crow flocked to see the birdmen, b Denverites and most of the aviati world were frightened when Johnston plane crashed during a spiral land and Johnstone was killed. The Ro Mountain Herald reported, "In two s onds a space of 100 feet square had be cleared by fleeing humanity and t seconds later the machine lay on earth, spattered with the blood of

^{5.} Bartlett, The New Country, pp. 419-21; How Roberts Lamar, The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Ter rial History (New York; W.W. Norton and Co., 1970) 274-85.

^{6.} William Fraser Rae, Westward by Rail: The Route to the East (New York: Promontory Press, 1974

^{7.} Wyoming Eagle, September 21, 1928, p. 6.

^{8.} On this airshow see, Roger D. Launius and Je L. Embry, "The 1910 Los Angeles Airshow: The Be nings of Air Awareness in the West," Southern Califo Quarterly, forthcoming Winter 1995.

^{9.} Denver Post, January 28, 1910, p. 5.

^{10.} Ibid., January 29, 1910, pp. 1, 3; January 30, 1 p. 2.

^{11.} Ibid., February 1, 1910, p. 18.
12. Ibid., February 3, 1910, p. 5; February 3, 191
11; February 2, 1910, p. 1; Howard L. Scamehorn, "First Fifty Years of Flight in Colorado," Universit Colorado Studies, Series in History No. 2 (Boulder: 1 versity of Colorado Press, 1961), p. 102.

^{13.} Denver Post, February 2, 1910, p. 13.

^{14.} Ibid., February 2, 1910, p. 20. 15. Ibid., February 4, 1910, p. 5. 16. Ibid., June 2, 1910, p. 3; June 3, 1910, pp. 1, 2; J 2, 1910, p. 1. The best work on this exhibition is Ei F. Lebow, Cal Rodgers and the Vin Fiz: The First Trans tinental Flight (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Inst tion Press, 1989).

iver." Brookins contended that instone had not lost control, explainz, "The machine collapsed, and that all there is to it."¹⁷

lying in Denver was difficult be 📹 cause of the altitude. None-theless, the Denver Press Club nned an aviation meet for April 1911 it would include a car and aeroplane e, a flight to and from Fort Logan, and ol flying" stunts.18 However, a tennute flight "constituted the whole ow." Representatives of the Press Club plained that bringing the planes to the a was a gamble that had failed. The ntract promised one flight, and that s all that happened. Instead of disapinting the crowd, the club canceled the ing show and took the financial loss. 19 is failure did not eliminate flying atnpts. For example, Philip O. Parmalee w over the Garden of the Gods and itended that with only twenty-five re horsepower he could have circled æ's Peak. In May 1911, a Colorado ings newspaper explained, "The wilness of air that lies between the footls and the mountains has been exred, its unknown dangers tested, and vioneer of the air has come back and d with unaffected confidence that the planes yet-and soon to come-will ride · Peak."²⁰

At the end of World War I, the rise aviation as a practical method of nsportation did not affect Colorado general and Denver in particular. As er parts of the world were experienc-; rapid development in aeronautical pability Denver lagged behind. One ıolar concluded:

over, the only city of the region that might re developed aircraft manufacturing enterses, flying fields, and active pilots on the રી of New York, Chicago, or San Francisco, s too remote from the great population and ustrial centers of the country.21

e presence of a few enthusiasts and omoters was insufficient to place nver on the aviation map. It looked to be a replay of the transcontinental railroad story.

If Denver's leaders were slow to capitalize on the rise of aviation in the United States and to capture air routes for the city, the movers and shakers in Cheyenne were even less understanding.²² For the most part, Wyoming turned its back on aviation before the end of World War I. Cheyenne businessman M.J. Berry called upon the Laramie Chamber of Commerce in 1910 to sponsor an airshow, but arrangements failed for lack of funding.23 To have stories about airplanes, the Laramie newspaper sent a reporter to a San Francisco air show in January 1911.24 Later that year, the state's leaders made noises about luring some aviators seeking Hearst's transcontinental flight prize but in the end no planes flew over Wyoming.²⁵

One reason behind the slowness with which both Denver and Chevenne embraced air transportation was the general impracticality of the airplane until the latter 1910s. When the war began in Europe in August 1914 aeronautical technology was rudimentary at best and useful mostly for thrill-seeking. World War I proved the practical nature of aviation. It prompted a series of technological advances in airplanes themselves, and almost as important, it helped to shift the cultural landscape toward greater acceptance of their practical value. As a result the small, fast, maneuverable, and heavily-armed fighter emerged as a major component of the battlefield, while development of better airframes and engines made possible the construction of large bombers. These larger, faster, and more reliable aircraft made directly possible the application of aviation to transportation activities in the postwar period.26

21 Scamehorn, "The First Fitty Years," p. 17

Throughout most of the West's history, the federal government helped to developed transportation including both railways and highways. The government also prompted aviation development in the Rockies. With new capabilities in military aviation wrought by World War I, the Aviation Section of the Army Air Service pioneered transcontinental air routes throughout the West in late 1918 and 1919 from which Cheyenne benefitted. For instance, in October 1919 the Army held the "First Transcontinental Reliability and Endurance Contest" with flights leaving each coast on a transcontinental race. Lieutenant Colonel Harold E. Hartney, who planned the contest, laid out a course directly across the heart of the nation between New York and San Francisco by way of Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, Omaha, Cheyenne, Salt Lake City, and Reno. The 2,071 mile route had 29 control stations, and 74 Army planes started in the event.

eaving the two coasts on Wednesday, October 8, 1919, the Army Iliers faced harsh weather from the beginning. On Thursday, October 9, an Army DH-4, which had survived blizzard conditions in the higher elevations, crashed west of Chevenne during a snowstorm. First Lieutenant Edwin V. Wales died in the crash and his partner, Second Lieutenant William C. Goldsborough, narrowly survived. The eventual winner of the contest, First Lieutenant Belvin W. Maynard, left Roosevelt Field in New York at 9:00 a.m. on the morning of October 8 and arrived in Cheyenne on the evening of October 9, 573 miles ahead of his nearest competitor. Maynard had to thaw out a frozen radiator before he could leave Cheyenne the next morning, but he arrived at the Presidio in San Francisco at 1:12 p.m. On Saturday, October 11, 1919. His flying time was 25 hours, 16 minutes, and 47 seconds, and total time was 3 days, 6 hours, 47 minutes, and 11 seconds. The planes, no longer in a race, then returned to their home stations via the same route.27 This race cemented a transcontinental route for the U.S. Postal Service.

Under the direction of Assistant Postmaster General Otto Praeger, the

^{22.} The early general history of aviation in Wyoming is discussed in Gerald M. Adams, "The Air Age Comes to Wyoming," Annals of Wyoming 52 (Fall 1980):

²³ Laranuc Daily Boomerang, December 22, 1910, p. 1; July 26, 1911, p. 1

^{24.} Ibid., January 6, 1911, pp. 1, 3 25. Ibid., August 31, 1911, p. 1.

^{26.} In this development see Richard P. Hallion, Riseof the Fighter Aircraft, 1914-1918 (Baltimore: The Nautical and Aviation Press, 1984); Lee B. Kennett, The First Au War, 1914-1918 (New York: The Free Press, 1991); John H. Morrow, German Air Power in World War I (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982); A.R. Weyl, Fokker: The Creative Years (London: Putnam, 1965).

^{17.} Rocky Mountain Herald, June 4, 1910, Clipping s, Denver Public Library. 18 Rocky Mountain News, April 21, 1911, p. 3.

^{19.} lbid., April 23, 1911, p. 3.

^{20.} Colorado Springs Gazette, May 4, 1911, Clipping s, Denver Public Library.



Some DH-4s were fitted with sky runners for use in the harsh winters of the northern Rockies.

agency had inaugurated air mail between New York City and Washington, D.C., on May 15, 1918.²⁸ Other routes followed quickly, linking cities along the Atlantic seaboard with Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Chicago. In February 1921, pressed by western bankers for the adoption of airmail to reduce the float times of checks moving cross-country, the Post Office Department originated the first transcon-

U.S.MA

tinental mail system, a route between San Francisco and New York via Salt Lake City, Cheyenne, Omaha, Chicago, and Pittsburgh.²⁹

Funding for the establishment of the route was

secured through a slight-of-hand by the post office for fiscal year 1921.30 Then the Postal Service began to develop a standard course along the general path of the Union Pacific Railroad line. Those cities favored with stops had to have airfields and a pliant business community that would be willing to support the service. John A. Jordan, a field operative seeking the best route for the western part of the air mail system, visited several cities in 1920 for this purpose. The Postal Service induced Cheyenne's business community to provide a suitable field and hangars for the proposed air mail route. City leaders made \$15,000 available for these facilities to ensure that Cheyenne became an air mail stop. The city leaders gleefully announced that Cheyenne's opportunity for a stop on the air route "turned Denver green with envy." To add insult to the situation, the Postal Service did not even visit Denver while developing the route.31

27. Air Service, "Report on First Transcontinental Reliability and Endurance Test" in *Air Service Information Circular* (Heavier-Than-Air), February 5, 1920, preface; "Coastal and Trans-Continental Flights," *U.S. Air Service* 2 (September 1919): 20-22; *Aircraft Year Book* (New York: Manufacturers Aircraft Association, 1919), pp. 336, 343; *Aircraft Year Book* (New York: Manufacturers Aircraft Association, 1920), pp. 269-70; *Air Service News Letter*, September 23, 1919, p. 2; October 8, 1919, pp. 2-4; October 18, 1919, pp. 1-3; October 31, 1919, pp. 1-4; November 7, 1919, pp. 2-4; November 15, 1919, pp. 1-2; November 8, 1919, pp. 9-12; November 25, 1919, pp. 14-15; December 13, 1919, p. 1; Belvin W. Maynard, "Most Dramatic Incident in My Flight," *U.S Air Service* 2 (November 1919): 26; Ray L. Bowers, "The Transcontinental Reliability Test: Aviation After World War 1," M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1960; Mauer Mauer, *Aviation in the U.S. Army*, 1919-1939 (Washington, DC: Office of Air Force History, 1987), pp. 29-35.

ton, DC: Office of Air Force History, 1987), pp. 29-35.
28. Flying 5 (March 1916): 53-59, 62-63; Annual Report of the Postmaster General, 1916 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917), p. 46; Congressional Record, 65th Cong. 2nd Sess., 13 May 1918, p. 643; Aviation, April 15, 1918, p. 389; "Report on Actions Taken by the Flying Branch in Regard to the Aerial Postal Route," April 11, 1918, Army Air Force Central Decimal Files 311.125, Records of the Army Air Force, Record Group 18, National Archives and Records Administration; Air Service Journal 2 (23 May 1918): 727-743.

29. The air mail has been discussed in several fine books. The best of these is William M. Leary, *Aerial Pioneers: The U.S. Air Mail Service! 1918-1927* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985). See also Roger E. Bilstein, *Flight Patterns: Trends of Aeronautical Development in the United States*, 1918-1929 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983), pp. 29-53.



The DeHavelland 4-B was a standard aircraft for flying the mail in the 1920s. World War I surplus equipment, the DH-4 (as it was called) was reliable but quickly became an obsolete aircraft for flights in the high Rockies.

a formal airfield. The commander ac-

For an airfield, and there was little likelihood that they could meet the September 1, 1920, deadline imposed by the Postal Service. For assistance, they turned to the War Department, prevailing upon it to make available a flat section of Fort D.A. Russell that had been used during the "First Transcontinental Reliability and Endurance Contest" the year before. At first, local army officials cooperated with the city, offering to enlarge and improve the landing strip into

cepted a proposal to make it a joint Cheyenne-Army municipal airport.³² But the War Department balked, and for a time it appeared that the Postal Service might bypass Cheyenne in favor of another city, perhaps even Denver.

At this moment Wyoming's pow-

erful senior senator, Francis E. Warren, waded directly into the controversy. Between July 17 and 23, 1920, acting at the behest of the Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce, Warren participated in a flurry of discussions about the use of federal land under Fort Russell's care. Warren wired Secretary of War Newton D. Baker about the matter on July 17 and also sent a message to Otto Praeger asking him to intervene with the War Department:

Second Assistant Postmaster General Praeger having in charge transcontinental aerial mail service, desires division head-

quarters near Cheyenne (stop) The best possible landing field would be in extreme Eastern part of Fort Russell reservation between the Post and city (stop) The Russell reservation contains nearly six thousand acres with no buildings or improvements other than outside fences on this part of reservation near the proposed landing field of approximately two hundred acres (stop) The Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce consulted commander Fort Russell who recommended through military channels the use of this land for location of hangars and landing of ships operated by Post Office Department (stop) This particular field especially adapted for any type of aerial service (stop) May I ask the favor of an early consideration and reply $(end)^{33}$

Praeger discussed the matter with the secretary and Brigadier General Charles T. Menoher, Director of the Air Service. Writing to Warren, the War De-

^{30.} A stretched argument about the air mail's ability to supplement rail transport enabled postal officials to take almost \$1.3 million out of railway appropriations in 1921 and use it to pay air mail costs. See, Post Office Department "Amount Expended for Air Mail Service by Fiscal Years," September 17, 1924, Records of the House of Representatives, Select Committee of Inquiry into Operations of U.S. Air Service, Record Group 233, National Archives.

^{31.} U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee of the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads, Hearings: Claims for the Construction of Hangars and Maintenance of Flying Fields Air Mail Service (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), pp. 9-27; Wyoming State Tribune, January 8, 1920, 4, cited in Adams, "Air Age Comes To Wyoming," p. 21.

^{32.} Wyoming State Tribune, March 2, 1920, p. 1; May 26, 1920, p. 1; May 27,1920, p. 1, all cited in Adams, "Air Age Comes to Wyoming," p. 21.

^{33.} F.E. Warren to Otto Praeger, July 17, 1920, Letterpress Book 9/27/19 to 5/5/21, p. 448, Francis F. Warren Papers, 13, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

partment responded that "While a landing field at Fort D.A. Russell would not be of any particular use to the Air Service at this time," the Army had no objection to locating one there and would support the initiative.34 Workers started grading the field and removing rocks at Fort Russell before the end of July. Designers also had plans for constructing a hangar and other buildings, but Baker halted the work, arguing that the War Department might need the property for other purposes. Infuriated, Warren, a Republican, felt that Baker made his decision for partisan political purposes and had scored one for the Democrats while plotting retribution. Meanwhile, the clock was ticking on the Postal Service's deadline, and Cheyenne municipal leaders had to rush to find property and construct a rudimentary landing field. They decided to turn 200 acres of flat land about a mile north of the city center into an airfield. Initially it was financed by local and county government and contributions from the Chamber of Commerce. Warren was later able to secure reimbursement for this investment from the federal government.³⁵

In July 1920 Otto Praeger, the Postal Service's "Father of the Air Mail," fixed September 1 as the official starting date for transcontinental air operations. He appointed Andrew R. Dunphy, a former Marine and as tough a manager as anyone could want, to take charge of the Omaha-Salt Lake City section of the route. Dunphy, who made his headquarters in Cheyenne, was in charge of ensuring that fields, aircraft, pilots, spare parts, and other resources were ready to support the operation.³⁶

About the same time Praeger also directed James Clark Edgerton, one of his chief assistants, to establish a radio network between the new western air mail stations. Edgerton acquired six kilowatt (kw) generators to power 2 kw

arc transmitters and SE-1420 receivers by trading the Air Mail Service's linen, used to repair aircraft, for surplus items. Edgerton also visited each city on the route and persuaded the civic leaders to donate facilities for the radio stations. In return he promised to provide them with emergency communications. Edgerton found that all the community leaders were pleased with this arrangement. "Each success induced others," he wrote. "In what had become a triumphal procession, the publicity proceeded me as my journey took me from city to city along the transcontinental [route]. Within ten days all work was in progress."37

In spite of these efforts, Praeger had to delay his September 1 inauguration of transcontinental air mail service. But on September 8 two pilots took off from the Cheyenne field on the eastern and western legs of the route. Relaying mail between aircraft like the Pony Express of sixty years earlier, the first air mail arrived at Cheyenne on September 9. An Army pilot, Lieutenant Buck Hedron, flew a De Havilland DH-4 aircraft on the Cheyenne-Salt Lake City route. By September 11 the first air mail from the East had reached San Francisco. Perhaps Aerial Age Weekly, a booster periodical, summarized the event best: "September 8, 1920, will go

down in history as the great day when the epoch-making event, the first trip of the transcontinental aerial mail, took place."³⁸

uring the weeks following the inauguration of the transconti nental route through Cheyenne, hazards arose that showed that the effort was more experimental than operational. Daily operations over the forbidding terrain of the Cheyenne-Salt Lake City segment was especially challenging. From Cheyenne at 6,000 feet, pilots had to climb to 9,000 feet above sea level, to cross the Laramie Range thirty miles westward. Crossing the Continental Divide, they usually followed the Union Pacific tracks through the narrow mountain passes. After a refueling stop at Rock Springs, these pilots, flying in open cockpit Jennys or De Havilland aircraft, had to cross the rugged Wasatch Range into Salt Lake. This part of the flight required a minimum altitude of 12,000 feet, at which height sudden snowstorms, erratic winds, subzero temperatures, and mountain peaks still hindered flights. Only the most dili-

38. Aerial Age Weekly, September 13, 1920, p. 5.

Johnnie Woodward was the first fatality in Cheyenne, Salt Lake Division, November 8, 1920.

^{37.} James Clark Edgerton, "Horizons Unlimited," in possession of Edgerton Family, Miami Springs, Florida, as quoted in Leary, *Aerial Pioneers*, p. 120.

Sign of Cultural Resources

^{34.} Otto Praeger to F.E. Warren, telegram, July 20, 1920, p. 453; Oscar Westover, Exec., to Gen. Menoher, to Otto Praeger, July 21, 1920, p. 473; Otto Praeger to Senator F.E. Warren, July 23, 1920, p. 473, all in Letterpress Book 9/27/19 to 5/5/21, Francis E. Warren Papers.

^{35.} Wyoming State Tribune, July 28, 1920, p. 1; July

^{36.} Otto Praeger to C. A. Parker, June 23, 1920, Personnel Files, Howard M. Garney, Division of Air Mail Service, Records of Post Office Department, Record Group 28, National Archives.



Air Mail Field, Cheyenne, Wyoming, ca. 1922.

gent efforts could bring the mail to its destination over such terrain.³⁹ Pilot James F. Moore expressed the sentiments of many flyers when he wrote to the air mail's Chief of Flying that the route "from here [Cheyenne] to Salt Lake City is a good one to kill the men that you seem to have a grudge against or want to see out of the way."40

The death of air mail pilot John P. Woodward on November 7, 1920, demonstrated the hazards of winter flights between Cheyenne and Salt Lake City. He crashed during a winter storm near Tie Siding, Wyoming, while enroute to Cheyenne from Salt Lake City.41 Most pilots had better luck, although accidents still took place. James P. Murray left Salt

Lake City on October 18, 1920, airbound to Cheyenne. He crossed the Wasatch front without incident, but after passing Rock Springs he encountered a blinding snowstorm. Realizing that massive Elk Mountain lay ahead but not being able to see it, Murray tried to gain altitude. "I gradually climbed the machine full engine," Murray wrote, "until I felt it stalling [at] the treetops [on the mountain] not more than fifty feet away." He could not climb or turn to miss Elk Mountain, so he had to settle for a crash-landing. Although his DH-4 was demolished, Murray was not seriously injured. He wandered eastward through the forests for several days, eventually finding a road. From there he walked to Arlington, Wyoming, and help.⁴²

n spite of these hazards, Cheyenne became the focal point for transcon tinental air travel in the central Rockies, and gradually the transcontinental route became more routine and less hazardous during the mid-1920s. The lone pilot who dressed in a leather flight suit and sat in an open cockpit battling the elements to deliver the mail was romantic but inefficient. To increase efficiency, the Postal Service emphasized safety and reliability as well as expanding operations during this era. Its leadership added immeasurably to flying operations. To make night operations possible, Otto Praeger began a concerted effort to light air fields and build emergency landing sites. Under Praeger's direction, Charles I. Stanton, an assistant in the Air Mail Service, established minimum lighting requirements for all air mail stations: a 500-watt revolving searchlight, projecting a beam parallel to the ground to guide pilots; another

^{39.} A.K. Lobeck, Airways of America: Guidehook No. 1 (New York: Columbia University, The Geographical Press, 1930), pp. 105-108; U.S. Air Mail Service, *Pilots' Directions: New York-Sau Francisco Route* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1921), pp. 17-20.

^{40.} James F. Moore to D.B. Colyer, November 30, 1920, Air Mail Service Personnel Files, Moore, Record Group 28, National Archives.

^{41.} Descret Evening News, December 22, 1920; Leary, Aerial Pioneers, p. 255.

^{42.} James P. Murray to Andrew R. Dunphy, October 20, 1920, Air Mail Service, Personnel Files, Murray, Record Group 28, National Archives.



Airline stewardesses in front of Boeing Air Transport, n.d.

search light projecting into the wind to show the proper approach; and aircraft wingtip flares for forced landings. Stanton also noted that landing fields should be at least 2,000 feet by 1,500 feet to allow plenty of room for landings. As a final safety device, the requirement for a searchlight to be mounted on airmail airplanes was appended to Stanton's set of requirements.⁴³

Night flying also required more effective navigational aids than the seat-of-the-pants approach air mail pioneers had used. As early as 1921, the Postal Service stressed the placement of light beacons along the air mail routes to guide pilots. A little later radio beacons were placed on certain parts of the transcontinental route emitting direc-

43 U.S. Air Service 5 (March 1921): 13-16; Christopher V. Pickup to Otto Praeger, March 31, 1921, Air Mail

Service, General Classified Records, 1918-1925, Record

Group 28, National Archives.

tional signals. It took many years before the route on which Cheyenne sat received radio beacons. As late as 1933 only certain parts of the eastern routes had these advanced instruments.⁴⁴ At first the city marked the landing field with huge bonfires but within a few years the federal government installed electric lights there and on other stopping points along the route.⁴⁵

ust as the Union Pacific elected to travel across Wyoming, the post office routed the air mail routes across that state, avoiding the much higher mountains. As a result, Cheyenne rather than Denver became the important terminal in air mail stop at the base of the Rockies. Wyomian Alfred W. Lawson, an inventor of multimotored planes,

even bragged that Cheyenne would soon be on a "super transcontinental air line," and that Denver would cease to be an important city in the West because it was left off the route.46 By the summer of 1927 Cheyenne had been firmly incorporated into the nation's transcontinental air transportation structure. This ensured, as Chevenne leaders concluded, that the region was "tending toward becoming a unified territory having intercommunication of the swiftest kind with its own inhabitants daily experiencing the thrill of seeing the Rockies and the Coast between sunrise and sunset. "47

Because of the city's past success as an aviation center and confidence in the future of air transport, Cheyenne lead-

⁴⁴ U.S. Air Service, 5 (March 1921): 3-11; Lobeck, Airways of America, pp. 186-89.

^{45.} Laramie Boomerang, February 23, 1921, p. 1.

^{46.} Wyoming Eagle, March 28, 1926, p. 1. 47. Ibid., January 14, 1927, p. 9; September 21, 1928, p. 1; Boeing Air Transport Inc., Salt Lake City Weekly Newsletter, April 14, 1928, p. 2, copies in Douglas Wilson Collection, American Heritage Center.



Boeing Air Transport, Inc. hangar, Cheyenne, Wyoming, February 10, 1930.

ers moved in the latter part of the 1920s to enhance the usage of the municipal airport. Western Air Express and Boeing Air Transport were using the municipal field extensively for transcontinental passenger and freight business. Boeing also planned to expand its operations, and in 1929 it engineered a deal to lease the airport for its use.⁴⁸ Not everyone approved of the plan, however, and Cheyenne mayor C.W. Riner called a special meeting to discuss the lease. He maintained, "I am just as much opposed as anyone to granting a monopoly on the Cheyenne field there are some who misunderstand the plan of the lease." He added that the city was maintaining the best hangar site for itself and that while Boeing's air mail transport would have the right of way, so would other mail routes from other airlines. He concluded.

48. Wyoming Eagle, April 25, 1929, p. 1.

We want the Boeing people to centralize in Cheyenne. It is the biggest thing we have had for years. The class of men and the business itself is one of the very best. The business is now is now in its infancy. Eventually it will be a big thing to the city. 49

The editor of the local newspaper and most of the city's business community eventually approved the decision, summarizing their rationale thus:

In going ahead with such an extensive program for immediate future in connection with their establishment of Cheyenne as the base of its operations, some idea of what the future holds in store for this city along this line, may be had when one appreciates that while commercial aviation has made almost unbelievable strides in the past few years, it is just now really getting started.⁵⁰

By 1930 it appeared that Cheyenne's important place on the transcontinental route was secure. Although it pained local pride to admit it, Denver leaders were forced to concede that Cheyenne "became one of the most important aviation centers in the world with the permanent establishment of the operating and maintenance headquarters of Boeing Air Transport."51 In 1931 a Boeing pilot called the Cheyenne "air capitol of the west."52 This position came largely because of the efforts of the federal government to solidify the nation's air transport structure during the Hoover administration. President Herbert Hoover's Postmaster General, Walter Folger Brown, was especially committed to developing a logical national air route structure "that went from somewhere to somewhere." Brown worked to establish three trans-

^{49.} Ibid., June 28, 1929, pp. 1, 8. 50. Ibid., August 23, 1929, p. 8. 51. *Denver Post*, December 31, 1929, p. 12B. 52. *Wyoming Eagle*, April 25, 1930, p. 6; July 3, 1921, p. 1; June 13, 1930, p. 1; September 18, 1931, p. 2; March 10, 1936, p. 1.

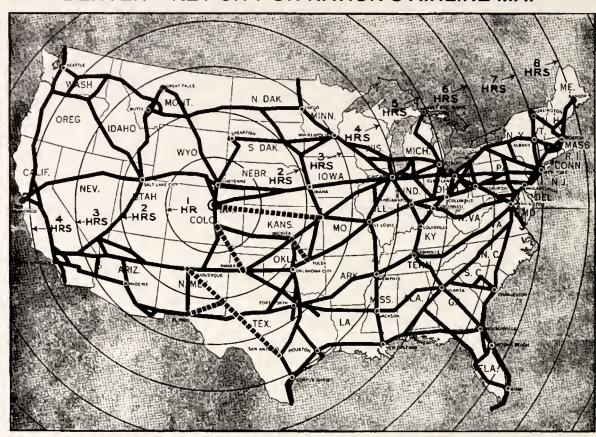
continental air routes, each with hubs and smaller regional routes operating to the north and south. One was roughly parallel to the old Union Pacific-Central Pacific Railroad lines. However, in trying to reconstruct the system under the existing regulatory system, he had reached a dead end and could only proceed in 1930 after passage of a law that allowed him to reshape the air route map.53

Armed with this new legislation, Brown assumed near dictatorial powers over the airmail system. His first priority was a reduction in the number of competitors. What emerged from this effort were four major continental airlines - United Air Lines, TWA, American Airways, and Northwest Airways - operating an integrated transcontinental route system. That Brown did so without competitive bidding and that in the process he destroyed the livelihood of several small carriers mattered neither to most westerners nor to very many in the public. What most perceived was an almost immediate orderliness to the aviation industry in the West.54 Many agreed with Nevada Senator Patrick A McCarran when he commented that Brown "was a public official who had a certain idea about how a certain matter should be carried out... even in the face of the law as it was written. "55

heyenne benefited directly from this heavy-handed approach to systematizing the national aviation structure. In July 1931 four major transport companies, including Boeing, joined to form United Air Lines, and it took over the central transcontinental route through the city. United became one of the "largest air transport compan[ies] in the world."56 Within a

55. Congressional Record, 73d Cong., 2d sess., p. 7000.

DENVER - KEY CITY ON NATION'S AIRLINE MAP



This map reproduced from the cover of "National Aeronautics" illustrates Denver's strategic location with reference to the nation's airways. Proposed routes indicated by dotted lines. This map was included in a flyer distributed by Peters, Writer & Christensen in 1940.

couple of years Cheyenne was recognized as one of the most "important air aviation centers between Chicago and Oakland."57 When travel increased with routes from E1 Paso, Texas, to Billings, Montana, the local newspaper declared, "Cheyenne stands today as one of the most important air bases in the nation and the outstanding aviation center west of the Mississippi river."58 With the movement in 1934 of United Air Lines' repair facilities to Cheyenne the corner on the regional air transport market seemed secure. In 1936, Roscoe Turner told Cheyenne residents that "in his knowledge no other city in the county with a similar population is so important an air transportation center."59

Despite this stature, as early as 1930 Cheyenne leaders began to see their city's aviation power slipping to Denver. To prevent such a shift, the Chey-

11, 1936, p. 19; Laramie Boomerang, April 16, 1936, Frontier Files, American Heritage Center; Lander Evening Post, March 3, 1936, Frontier Files, American Heritage Center; Wyoning State Tribune, January 13, 1936, Roscoe Turner Papers, Box 95, American Heritage Center.

enne Chamber of Commerce asked Post Office officials if there were plans to shift the air mail route to Denver, noting that if so there were many problems flying over the higher mountain peaks near Denver. Representatives of the post office replied that they had no plans to change the air mail route.60

Tith ten years of hegemony as air transport queen of the northern Rockies, however, Cheyenne leaders had reason to be concerned. By 1930 the Denver business community was committed to wresting a fair measure of air transport business from Cheyenne. To do so they proposed building a "world class" airport that would attract lines to transit their city. As in other communities throughout the United States, the Denver Chamber of Commerce was the most important ingredient in this move. It organized an aviation committee and began agitating for the construction of a new airport. The chamber's leaders complained that people in the East felt the west's "mountain geography" was "a very hazardous

^{53.} R. E. G. Davies, Delta: The Illustrated History of a Major U.S. Airline and the People Who Made It (Miami: Paladwr Press, 1990), pp. 12, 20, 22, 34; Henry Ladd Smith, Airways: The History of Commercial Aviation in the United States (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), pp. 156-66; Roger D. Launius and Jessie L. Embry, "Fledgling Wings: Aviation Comes to the Southwest,1910-1930," New Mexico Historical Quarterly 70 (January 1995):

^{54.} This event is critical in the development of the airline industry. For more information on Brown's efforts see, Nick A. Komons, Bonfires to Beacons: Federal and Civil Aviation Policy under the Air Commerce Act, 1926-1938 (Washington, DC: Federal Aviation Administration, 1978), pp. 191-216; Smith, Airways, pp. 167-96.

^{56.} Wyoming Eagle, July 3, 1931, p. 2; September 18, 1931, p. 2. 57. Ibid., October 27, 1933, p. 4.

^{58.} fbid., May 11, 1934, p. 1.

^{59.} Ibid., May 18, 1934, p. 8; June 1, 1934, p. 1; January

^{60.} Wyoming Eagle, October 17, 1930, p. 1.

aeronautical country" and encouraged the city to obtain land for airport construction.61 The chamber also published pamphlets promoting Denver as an "air center," and it successfully lobbied the postmaster general to expand the air mail route structure to include Denver. "We have concluded that if this line were extended it would serve Denver business in a material way and give great impetus to the development of aeronautics in the mountain states territory," said the Chamber of Commerce.⁶²

Mayor Benjamin F. Stapleton was determined that air travel would not bypass Denver as the railroad had done in the nineteenth century. Largely because of his efforts, the city completed, in 1929, a new airport that was as fine as anything in the intermountain West. At the airport dedication, the program explained that the airport would "meet... even anticipate" the growth of air travel and to prevent the "Queen City of the Prairies" from being "left and dry." The airport was one of the finest in the nation, according to the report, and as a result, "It is a safe assertion to say that the next few months will wit-

61. Minutes of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, August 18, 1928, and January 22, 1929, Denver Public Library

62. Ibid., October 7, 1928 and October 12, 1928.

ness the new airport [as] a hub in a great wheel of transport lines, through which travelers from all directions will pass, transfer and land."63

he *Rocky Mountain News* declared that after one year of operation the new airport was already paying its way, despite not being a part of the main transcontinental route through the region. With the traffic and flying services already housed there, the airport even needed a new hangar. The newspaper bragged that the Denver airport was one of only two Class A-1-A airports in the United States and called the growth of services "phenomenal." Despite the onset of the "Great Depression," the aviation business was growing because of "the natural advantage of the West as a field for commercial flying."64

Denver's Chamber of Commerce boosted the use of its airport throughout the early 1930s as a much more at-

63. "Dedication of the Denver Municipal Airport Program," 17-20 October 1929, Benjamin F. Stapleton Collection, carton 2, folder 58, Colorado Historical Societv: Lyle W. Dorsett. The Oucen City: A History of Denver (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1977), p. 207; Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1990), pp. 429-30.

64. Rocky Mountain News, February 22, 1921, sect. 1, 2; January 1, 1931, p. 30, Clipping Files, Denver Public Library.

tractive hub than any other in the region, especially that offered by Cheyenne. It lobbied the government for favorable decisions on air routes and tried to induce carriers to use the Denver airport as a major terminal. The city expanded the length and strength of its airport runways, added a \$1 million terminal, and improved other facilities as inducement to users.65 It also encouraged Colorado legislators to promote additional air mail routes between Denver and such places as Casper and Billings, arguing, "The great Rocky Mountain Region insists upon the same degree of Federal recognition that is afforded to more populated areas that lie closer to the seat of Government."66

The aviation committee also promoted greater flying services for Denver. In 1934 Denver millionaire T.E. McClintock explained that Denver had better aviation facilities than other cities in the region, had more business using air transport, and consequently required a central place on the East-West

65. Jeff Miller, Stapleton International Airport: The First Fifty Years (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1983), pp. 44-47.

66. Denver Chamber of Commerce to William R. Eaton, January 6, 1932, quoted in Minutes of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, March 1, 1929; April 29, 1929; April 18, 1930; and November 5, 1930.



United Air Lines Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming, n.d.

route. He stopped just short of suggesting that Chevenne should be eliminated as a stop on the transcontinental route, but he was adamant in demanding that United provide better airline service for the "largest city in the Rockies." In response to such complaints, airlines serving Denver agreed to add more advanced planes on the routes through the city, cutting the flying times to major hubs such as Chevenne, which after that would be only thirty-five minutes.68 In 1934 the chamber also petitioned for a direct night flight between Denver and Kansas City, arguing that the only connection then available was through Chevenne. This route slowed business transactions and prevented the growth of both the city and the airline system. The ploy of the symbiotic relationship worked, and Denver got its direct flight to Kansas City.69

Livery one of these successes strengthened the position of Denver over Cheyenne in aeronautical circles. At the same time, Cheyenne's leadership seemed to lose grasp of the need to maintain itself as an aviation center in rivalry with Denver. Many complaints began to surface in the early 1930s about the lack of support for aviation among Cheyenne residents. For example, in 1934 one United pilot criticized the management of the Cheyenne airport.

Talk about slipshod, dizzy air transport corporations— the Wyoming gang is the limit, he said. They do not know what it is all about, no communication, they never know ship arrival time till they land and then usually there is no one around to meet the ship. "

When United moved its repair shops to Cheyenne, some employees complained that the landlords of the community jacked the rents up far too high for the new arrivals, gouging them so much that several employees sent their families back to their old homes.⁷¹





top: The Clark GA-43 (1934) flown over intermountain routes, at Denver Municipal Airport.

bottom: In 1934 Army Air Corps Capt. Ira C. Eaker takes a flight in the Rockies.

⁶⁷ Minutes of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, February 27, 1931

⁶⁸ Ibid , March 13, 1934

⁶⁹ Ibid., July 18, 1934

⁷⁰ HA Burgess to Andy, June 1, 1934, HA Burgess Collection, 523, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Minutes, Regional History Center, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

By the time of the 1936 regional meetings of the National Association of Aviation Officials in Cheyenne, Robert Hansworth, the secretary of the Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce, had a difficult time trying to "prove to visiting officials that Cheyenne is truly an airminded city."

By 1937, fed up with the perception of ill-treatment in Cheyenne, airline officials were receptive to the most heady air transport proposal ever made by Denver leaders, the detour of the United route at North Platte, Nebraska, from Cheyenne to Denver.⁷³ A United Air Lines official came to Denver to discuss the matter, and the business community "win[ed] and din[ed]" him. In the end, he said, United was willing to detour one each of the four daily eastbound and westbound flights through Denver rather than Cheyenne. But he added, "United wants to make it clear that it wants to work in harmony with Wyoming Air Lines in the development of more business out of Denver." Simultaneously, United emphasized that the new service would be "supplementary noncompetitive flight" and "would stimulate business. "74

When the new direct service, in effect stolen from Cheyenne, began in May 1937, Denver residents turned out to see the first United Air Lines planes arrive in town. Just like in the days of the Denver air show in 1910, the city sponsored a parade that "depicted transportation progress from the days of the Indian and trapper down to the present." The Post exhaustively and enthusiastically covered the event, quoting travelers' glowing reports of the city's airport and weather.⁷⁵ The City's residents were no less spirited in their response when later that same year Continental Airlines established a headquarters in Denver for its Denver to E1 Paso route.76 Denver's leaders also induced the establishment of a north-south line





Top: Interior of United Air Lines B-247 plane
Bottom: The revolution in air transport is epitomized in the 1930s by the DC-3, shown here on a route flown by American Airlines. Because of the capability of this type of aircraft, Cheyenne was no longer needed as a stop on the transcontinental air route.

^{71.} Wyoming Eagle, November 9, 1934, p. 8.

^{72.} Ibid., January 11, 1936, pp. 1, 18, 19.

^{73.} Minutes of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, January 6, 1937 and April 30, 1937.

^{74.} Denver Post, January 16, 1937, Clipping Files, Denver Public Library; Rocky Mountain News, April 7, 1936, p. 3.

^{1936,} p. 3.
75. *Denver Post*, May 16, 1937, sect. 1, p. 1, Clipping Files, Denver Public Library.

^{76.} Rocky Mountain News, November 30, 1937, Clipping Files, Denver Public Library.

between Canada and Mexico via Denver in 1937. They emphasized the natural advantage of paralleling a natural north-south travel route to the East of the Rocky Mountains.

enver's Chamber of Commerce remained aggressive after these successes. In November 1938 it invited T.E. Braniff and other officers of Braniff Airways to expand service with a Kansas City-Denver run. Continental and United also increased operations on the same route.78 In every case, Chevenne lost air transport services when Denver gained them. Mayor Stapleton unabashedly stated his sentiments about this city rivalry: "We should determine what new air routes Denver wants and go after them vigorously."79 Stapleton supported the bid of United Air Lines to begin a route between Des Moines, Kansas City, Topeka, Salina, and Denver. He was clearly delighted when United proposed staging this route's pilots and planes out of Denver.80

In 1938 Denver's Chamber of Commerce boasted, "Within a few years the great bulk of transcontinental air travel originating in foreign countries will come thru Denver" and "Denver stands high on the list of cities with important airports that should have the finest and most modern equipment."81 People from the National Guard, the University of Colorado, and the Denver Chamber of Commerce formed a committee in February 1939 to promote Denver 's and Colorado's quest to be the "air hub of the West."82 Their dreams were not far off. Many new routes passed through or emanated from Denver in the latter 1930s and early 1940s. Army Air Corps Colonel Charles A. Pursley, who visited Denver in 1940 to survey facilities for possible national defense activities, immediately voiced the opinion that there

was "unlimited possibilities . . . and new expansion" for the city. Braniff leaders found that the city "provides wonderful flying conditions and we want to take full advantage of Denver's growth so far and its future growth right up to and including becoming the nation's aviation center." Gill Robb Wilson of the NAA diplomatically stated, "Denver has as great a future in aviation as any city in the nation." He went on to praise the airport and the climate for flight training.83 The Rocky Mountain News carried a slogan "Make Denver the Nation's Air Center." Steadham Acker, Denver businessman and aviation promoter, summarized the perspective of many city leaders: "More than any other city, Denver is dependent upon modern transportation for its expansion. The city should be airconscious for this reason; expansion of air facilities will create a better Denver."84

By the beginning of World War II Denver had supplanted Cheyenne as the aviation hub at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, though the Wyoming city remained a transit stop for United until the 1960s. Denver did so for several reasons. The most important was the proactive nature of the Denver business community in building a fine airport and inducing airlines to use it while the Cheyenne leadership was more complacent in accepting the given of the early transcontinental route. In that siting, Cheyenne's location on the Union Pacific and the generally favorable situation of passes through the upper Rockies gave it an early advantage. In contrast, Denver's leaders expended considerable capital and played an effective political game to establish the city as a crossroads of air routes. This condition resulted both from location and circumstance and from the farsightedness of several residents who exploited opportunities to establish permanent facilities

and infrastructure, charter commercial aviation companies, and make the most of military requirements in this area.85

Denver's leaders were aided in this process by non-related technological advances in aviation. The early geographical advantage enjoyed by Cheyenne was first circumscribed and then made altogether obsolete by the development of new aircraft that could fly at higher altitudes and did not have to be concerned with mountain peaks of 10,000 feet or more. The development of technologically advanced aircraft designs in the 1930s allowed safer, more economical operations even in taxing mountain conditions. The aeronautical technology revolution of the 1930s -especially manifest in the Boeing 247 and DC-3 allmetal, multi-engined transports allowed more rapid and sustained expansion of aviation in the central Rockies surrounding the larger and prosperous city of Denver where the mountain peaks had long been a problem.86 In this environment, the old transcontinental route began to recede in importance.

hen there was the question of city size and amount of market for air routes. In 1940 the population of Denver was a city of more than 100,000 people while Cheyenne was less than 40,000. Just from the standpoint of a population base from which to draw travelers, Denver was the more attractive site for a major hub. At the same time, with the development of more advanced aircraft that could fly higher and farther, there was less need to maintain a staging location for plane servicing and fueling in such smaller cities as Cheyenne. Beginning in the 1940s, only

86. Laurence K. Loftin, Jr., Ouest for Performance:

^{83.} Rocky Mountain News, July 7, 1940, p. 1. 84. Ibid., June 21, 1941, Clipping Files, Denver Public Library.

^{85.} This has been seen repeatedly in the development of aviation centers. See also, Roger D. Launius, "A Case Study in Civil-Military Relations: Hill Air Force Base and the Ogden Business Community, 1934-1945," Aerospace Historian 35 (Fall/September 1988): 154-63; Roger D. Launius, "Crossroads of the West: Aviation Comes to Utah, 1910-40," *Utah Historical Ouarterly* 58 (Spring 1990): 108-30; Roger D. Launius, "World War II Aviation in the Rockies: From Natural to National Resource," Journal of the West 32 (April 1993): 86-93.

The Evolution of Modern Aircraft (Washington, DC: National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1985), pp. 77-101; Frank Cunningham, Sky Muster: The Story of Donald Douglas and the Douglas Aircraft Company (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co., 1943); Jeffrey A. Fadiman, "Dreamer of the Drawing Board: Donald Wills Douglas (1892-1981)," in Ted C. Hinckley, ed., Business Entrepreneurs in the West (Manhattan, KS: Sunflower University Press, 1986), pp. 83-93; Barrett Tillman, "Douglas Aircraft: Armorer of Naval Aviation," Journal of the West 30 (January 1991): 58-68; Douglas J. Ingells, The Plane That Changed the World: A Biography of the DC-3 (Fallbrook, CA: Aero Pub., 1966); Douglas J. Ingells, The McDonnell-Douglas Story (Fallbrook, CA: Aero Pub., 1979); John B. Rae, Climb to Greatness: The American Aircraft Industry, 1920-1960 (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968).

^{87.} Air Service Requirements of Denver, Colorado (New York: J.C. Buckley Inc., 1954).

^{77.} Minutes of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, October 21, 1937, and November 10, 1937.

^{78.} Rocky Mountain News, November 11, 1938, Clipping Files, Denver Public Library; Minutes of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, July 28, 1938.

^{79.} Minutes of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, October 12, 1938.

^{80.} Ibid., October 14, 1938; November 10, 1938; November 22, 1938; January 13, 1939; March 21, 1939; Pueblo Chieftam, January 20, 1939, Clipping Files, Den-

^{81.} Denver Post, August 11, 1938, p. 20.

^{82.} Ibid., February 20, 1939, p. 28.

major cities would have stops on the transcontinental lines. Smaller cities such as Cheyenne could at best boast of good feeder lines that took passengers to hub terminals. Accordingly, while Denver's airport had 12,089 passengers

boarding, disembarking, or changing planes in 1940, that number had grown to 243,437 in 1950. Cheyenne's numbers took a corresponding tumble during the decade. Without question, Denver's position as a regional metropolis was linked to its securing a place as the Rockies' travel and trade center.

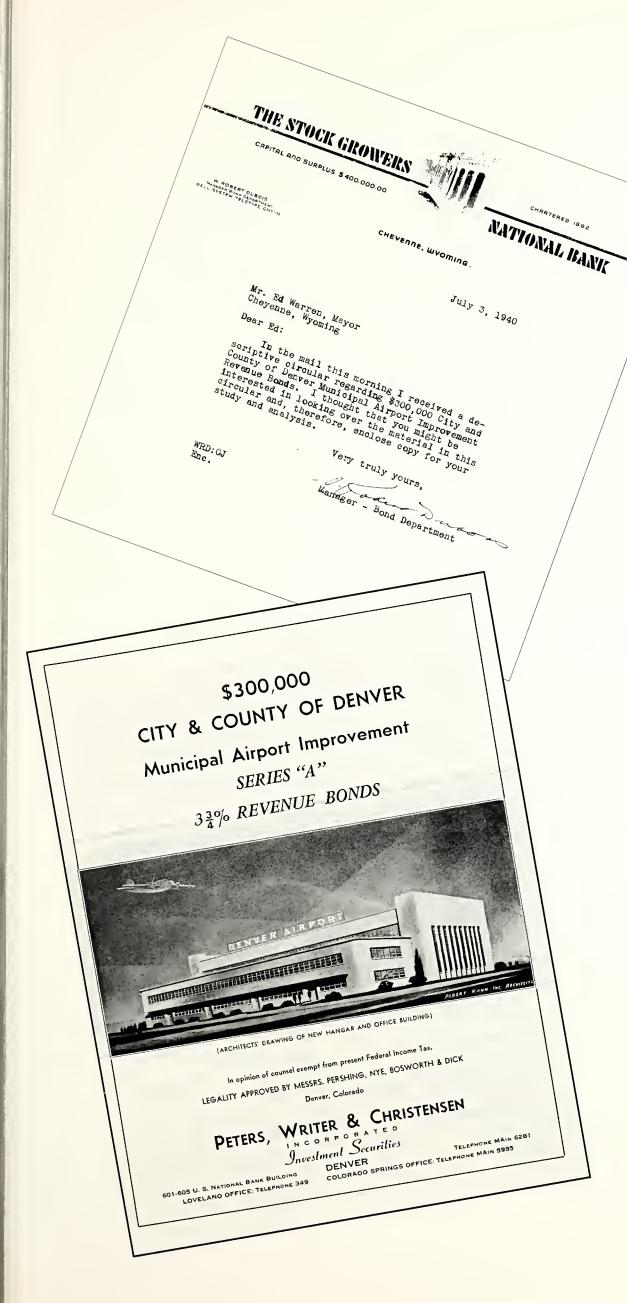
oth Denver and Cheyenne would continue to compete for business and tourism in a variety of ways after World War II, but it was at best an uneven rivalry. Leaders in each city foresaw something of the potential that aviation held and hoped and worked to incorporate it into the various sectors of their economies and societies. Each city would have successes and failures during the years that followed. The attempts to attract aeronautical enterprises and military aviation and the spectacle of airshows and extravaganza were a part of the continuing contest. After the end of World War II, however, that competition eventually died away until Chevenne was at best a side trip on the aeronautical map of the United States while Denver became the hub through which almost everyone traveling across the continent had to pass.

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This article was designed by Melinda Brazzale.

Letter dated July 3, 1940 from W.
Robert Dubois, manager of the
bond department at The Stock
Growers National Bank in
Cheyenne, to Ed Warren, mayor of
Cheyenne, regarding the
bond circular below.

Both documents are from the Wyoming State Archives, Division of Cultural Resources.



Out of Obscurity: A Look at the Life of



Of all the fabled locales connected with the Rocky Mountain fur trade none is more recognizable than Jackson Hole, nestled below the dramatic peaks of the Grand Tetons in northwest Wyoming. The scenic area was named in honor of David Jackson, a fur trader who passed through the area as early as 1825 and possibly up through 1830. However, by an ironic twist of fate this adventurer has remained lost in the shadows of anonymity.

Color miniature of David E. Jackson. Hays Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

David E. Jackson

Field Captain of the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade

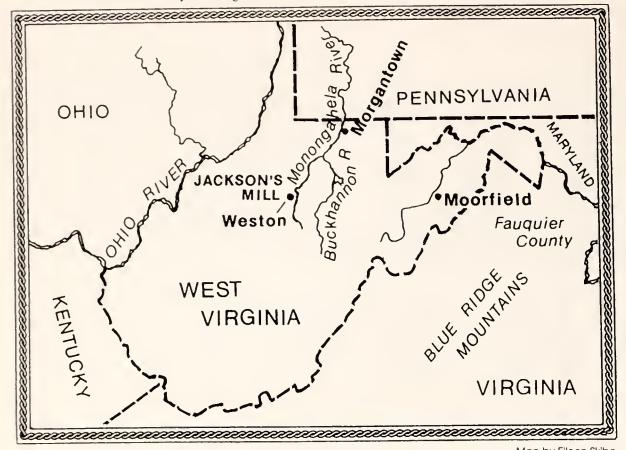
By Vivian L. Talbot

ackson has been the most enigmatic of the prominent members of the mountain man fraternity and subsequently, has received scant recognition in the literature about the Rocky Mountain fur trade. Most early fur trade historians were baffled why prominent mountain men Jedediah Smith and William Sublette included Jackson as a full partner when they bought out William Ashley in July 1826, even though Jackson's name and signature appear on the sale document. Part of this historical oversight is due to the fact that there was apparently no biographical data about Jackson or information covering his contributions to the fur trade. Jackson himself left few personal records about his adventures. In the 1960s Carl Hays wrote an article about Jackson for a multi-volume work on the fur trade edited by LeRoy R. Hafen. Hays' account is brief and does not include information on Jackson's early life. Later, fur trade historians Dale Morgan and Don Berry came to appreciate Jackson's pivotal role as a partner in the Smith, Jackson and Sublette fur trading firm, but they failed to recognize his contributions to our knowledge of geography or provide any information about his life prior to 1826 or after he left the fur trade in 1830. A closer examination of his exploits in the Rocky Mountains and Southwest reveals that he made numerous contributions to the fur trade and western settlement.

David Edward Jackson was born to Edward and Elizabeth Jackson on October 30, 1788, in the western fringes of Virginia along the Buckhannon River (now in Upshur County, West Virginia). Said to be a large baby, Jackson would eventually grow tall and lean, much like his paternal grandmother, Elizabeth Cummins, who came alone to America from England in the late 1740s and later married a "diminutive" man of Scotch-Irish descent, John Jackson, whom she met while crossing the Atlantic.² Jackson's mother died just short of her thirty-second birth-day but not before presenting Edward with three sons and three daughters. Ot these, one son, Jonathan, would be the father of General Thomas Jonathon "Stonewall"

1. Carl D. W. Hays, "David E. Jackson," in LeRoy R. Haten, ed. Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Fai. West, vol. 8 (Glendale, Califorma: A. H. Clark Co., 1965-1972), pp. 215-44. Hays withheld much information concerning Jackson in this article because he was preparing to write a book on his subject. However, he died before completing the project. Another family member, John C. Jackson, was the recipient of Hays' material. A year after Lompleted by masters thesis on David Jackson, John Jackson's book. Shadow on the Tetons-was published in 1993 by the Mountain Press Publishing Company in Missoula, Montana. In addition to some of the material Lemployed for my research the author also made extensive use of Hudson's Bay Company records and added his own judgements and interpretations regarding the character and contributions of some of David Jackson's associates.

2. Roy Bird Cook, *The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson* (Richmond, Virginia: Old Dominion Press, Inc., 1925), p. 18. Dorothy Davis, *John George Jackson* (Parsons, West Virginia McClain Printing Company, 1976), p. 1.



David Edward Jackson was born in the western fringes of Virginia along the Buckhannon River (now in Upshur County, West Virginia).

Jackson. Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Brake then added nine more children to the Jackson family. In 1801, when Jackson was entering his teens, Edward moved his

burgeoning family still fifteen miles farther west to a site just north of present-day Weston, West Virginia. In addition to farming, the family operated Jackson's Mill on West Fork, a branch of the Monongahela River, just north of Weston. Certainly Jackson, working beside his father and

other Jackson relatives in farming, milling, and surveying, acquired some valuable skills that would stand him in good stead during later pursuits.

On November 2, 1809, Jackson married Juliet T. Norris. The Norrises came to the Weston area from Facquier County, Virginia. Juliet's father saw extensive service during the Revolutionary War, being present at the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.³ Juliet was almost five years older than David. To this union four children were born - sons Edward John (known as "Ned") and William Pitt, and twin daughters Nancy and Mary, born while David was serving in the military.4

Jackson saw limited and undistinguished military service during the War of 1812. He, his brother Jonathan, and their cousins anxiously tried to become a part of the action, joining militia groups and even attempting to form a mounted riflemen's unit. Jackson was to have served as their cornet, or standard bearer, but there is no record of this groups being accepted for duty.⁵ There is, however, some evidence that he might have associated himself with the Ohio Militia as an ensign for a three month enlistment. He finally joined the regular army on August 10, 1813. Jackson's military service was less than what he or the military expected, however. He was assigned to be a recruiter for his regiment and all seems to have gone well the first few months of his enlistment. Commenting about the many irregularities among the officers, his colonel reported Jackson for disobedience of orders and suspicion of gambling away the recruitment money. The colonel concluded that Jackson was "totally incapable of ever making an officer."6 However, in a later affidavit David's wife testified that he returned home because of illness. This could have been the case, but the tenor of his commanding officer's letter indicates that the morale of the whole regiment must have been quite low, and it is possible that Jackson decided to give it all up. From his earlier attempts to become involved in the war one gets the impression that he was hoping for some action and perhaps being a recruiter did not offer the fulfillment he anticipated. The result of his colonel's letter, however, was that Jackson was dropped from the roles of the 19th Infantry Regiment on May 10, 1814.

ike many of the men in his family, Jackson seems to have been of an independent nature and, throughout the rest his life Jackson was plagued with a large dose of wanderlust. Following the War of 1812 he took two of his father's slaves to his brother, George, then residing in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, and never returned to his family home again.⁷ Jackson was free to satisfy his enterprising spirit and seek his fortune farther afield, while younger siblings took over managing the family property. Jackson wished for his family to join him, but they never did, possibly because Juliet was reluctant to part with family ties and familiar surroundings in western Virginia or because of a marital rift prior to his leaving. Whatever the reason, Jackson involved himself in farming and land speculation, and possibly even lead mining in Missouri until 1822 when his life took a dramatic turn. It was probably not William Ashley's famous newspaper ad for "100... enterprising young men" that enticed Jackson up the

^{3.} Sons of Revolution in the State of West Virginia (Wheeling, West Virginia: West Virginia Society, n.d.), p. 75.

^{4.} Elmer Jackson, Keeping the Lamp of Remembrance Lighted (Hagerstown, Maryland: Hagerstown Bookbinding and Printing Company, Inc., 1985), p. 20.

^{5.} Henry Haymond, History of Harrison County (Morgantown, West Virginia: Acme Publishing Company, 1910), p. 225. 6. Capt. John Miller to Col. John B. Walbach, April 20, 1814, David E. Jackson

Documents, Dale Morgan Papers, copy at Marriott Library, University of Utah; original at Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

^{7.} Jackson, Lamp of Remembrance, p. 45. 8. Hays, "Jackson," p. 217. Hays mentioned that it was possibly a Masonic association that brought the two together. Not until December 1830 (eight years later) did David become a member of the Masonic lodge in Missouri, but he did associate himself with this fraternal order while still in Virginia. (Minutes of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, Tucker Lodge No. 13, Grand Lodge of Missouri, Columbia, December 27, 1830 and December 28, 1830.)

Missouri, but a friendship between him, or his brother George, and the seasoned fur trader Andrew Henry, Ashley's field partner. Most fur trade historians believe Jackson, like James Clyman and Thomas Fitzpatrick, joined the venture in 1823. However, in April 1822 his brother attested that to his brother's future trip:

I have this day agreed to take David E. Jacksons stock of Cattle and Horses and to keep them for the term of three years or until his Return from the Expedition that he is about to take up the Missouri.⁹

The plan for the Ashley-Henry firm in 1822 was for Henry to take men, including Jackson, to the mouth of the Yellowstone River and establish a fort. To avoid confrontations with the feared Blackfoot Indians Henry was not going to send them much further up the Missouri River. Later that fall or the following spring of 1823, a trapping party would be sent south and west following the Yellowstone River to its bend and then cross overland to the beaver-rich Three Forks of the Missouri. 10 But when William Ashley arrived that fall at the completed fort with additional men and supplies, he learned that Henry had lost most of his horses and some merchandise to the Assiniboine Indians en route up the Missouri. Ashley, too, had experienced some difficulties which ultimately cost the firm \$10,000 in lost cargo. However, Henry's men were able to send some beaver pelts back with Ashley when he returned to St. Louis to prepare another expedition for the following spring in 1823.

During that 1822-23 winter most of Henry's group remained at the fort on the Yellowstone while the rest, including Jackson's future friend and partner, Jedediah Smith, wintered farther west on the Musselshell River. Additional horses were lost by this group, and some of them were killed by Blackfeet the following spring, thus

delaying the planned departure to the Three Forks. Knowing that his partner was on his way up the river, Henry sent Jackson and Smith to inform Ashley about his need for additional horses. After receiving this news, Ashley made a trading stop at the Arikara villages at the confluence of the Missouri and Grand rivers. Being aware of the Arikara's fickle relations with white traders, Ashley took some precautions before going ashore and opening negotiations for horses with the tribe. All went well until early the following morning of June 1, 1823, when Arikaras attacked Jackson and other men on a wide sandbar beneath the villages. Confusion and pandemonium followed as the Ashley men retreated into the river and attempted to return fire. The rest of the story concerning the Arikara incident has been well covered in fur trade literature. 11 Smith returned to the new fort, and informed Henry that Ashley needed help. The partners' combined parties joined the abortive counterattack of the "Missouri Legion" under the leadership of Col. Henry Leavenworth. The whole affair was a costly incident in fur trade history in both monetary and human loss.

The Arikara incident delayed the expedition, and, if their firm was to survive, Ashley and Henry still had to realize something from the coming fall hunt. With the upper Missouri effectively closed to them a new routine of hunting and trading needed to be developed which would become the remarkable innovation in fur trade history – the rendezvous system.

9. Affidavit of George Jackson, April 1822, Jackson Documents.

10. St. Louis Enquirer, April 13, 1822, n.p.

11. See Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trader of the Far West* (New York, 1935); Don Berry, *A Majority of Scoundrels* (Sausalito, California: Comstock Editions, Inc., 1961); Dale L. Morgan, *Jedidiah Smith and the Opening of the West* (Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1953); Dale L. Morgan, ed., *The West of William Ashley* (Denver: The Old West Publishing Company, 1964).



Crow Indians

Wyaming State Archives

With a minimum of supplies and horses, two groups belonging to the firm left Fort Kiowa for the Rocky Mountains.12 Between them, over the next two years, either separately or jointly, the two brigades covered a great deal of territory and accomplished much. They began by returning to the old post on the Yellowstone, closing it up and building a new fort at the mouth of the Big Horn River. Next, they established relations with the friendly Crow Indians when they wintered among them along the Wind River in present Wyoming. One of the brigades rediscovered South Pass, trapped for beaver along the Green and Bear Rivers, and followed trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company into northern Montana. Ashley/Henry employees wintered in present Cache Valley, Utah (then called by the trappers Willow Valley) and in July 1825 all the trappers met William Ashley's newly arrived caravan in southern Wyoming on Henry's Fork of the Green River where the first Rocky Mountain rendezvous took place. 13

fter the one-day affair, the firs were loaded onto stock, and about fifty of the mountain men accompanied Ashley to a navigable point on the Big Horn River, where he put the pelts on boats to be carried down the Big Horn, Yellowstone and finally the Missouri rivers to St. Louis. About half of this contingent, including Jedediah Smith who by this time became Ashley's new partner after Henry quit the business the previous year, went down the river with their boss. The remaining men took the unloaded horses and headed back to the western slope of the Rockies, trapping in the waterways as they went.¹⁴ During this time a close association developed between David Jackson and Bill Sublette. Albert Gallatin Boone, a trapper who accompanied the 1826 supply caravan to the west, wrote, "He [Ashley] left his party near the great Salt Lake, under Jackson and Sublette, and took out our party to reinforce them."15 The severity of the winter of 1825-26 caused the trappers to move their camp from Cache Valley to the Salt Lake Valley.

The following spring the trappers were divided into three groups for a season of exploration and trapping. Jackson and Sublette led one group north and west to and beyond the Great Salt Lake. According to a notation on an early map of the southwestern Idaho/northern Utah/eastern Oregon area, Jackson and some of the men ranged all over the western portion of the Snake River (then called Lewis Fork) and its tributaries, travelling as far west as the Owyhee River, which comes into southwestern Idaho from Oregon. Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company was told of this group of Ameri-

cans by the Indians and speculated they were on their way to Fort Nez Perces. 16 The information gleaned by Jackson and his men during this 1826 expedition was a major contribution to the early geographical knowledge of the area, and their very presence in what was referred to as "Oregon Country" kept the U.S. interests alive in that region. 17

Some of the Jackson and Sublette brigade explored the area around the Great Salt Lake for twenty-four days. With four men on the lake itself, they tried to ascertain whether or not it had a western outlet leading to the Pacific Ocean, the fabled Rio Buenaventura. With the 1826 spring hunt over, all of the trapping parties returned to Cache Valley where they met the westward bound caravan under Ashley and Smith's leadership. This event proved to be another pivotal juncture in Jackson's life. At the conclusion of about two weeks of exuberant activity and merriment an important meeting took place on July 18, 1826. Robert Campbell, who came west for the first time with the caravan and who would later be a close friend and business partner of Sublette, wrote:

After we [Ashley, Smith, and Campbell] left Cache Valley, Jackson and Sublette met us on the Bear river. Ashley then sold out his interest in the fur trade to Smith, his partner, and to Jackson and Sublette, the new firm being known as Smith, Jackson & Sublette [hereafter referred to as SJS]. 19

The new partners promised to buy the merchandise left from the 1826 caravans, which was estimated to be worth \$16,000, and to order their supplies for future rendezvous from Ashley. Ashley in turn agreed not to outfit any "other company or Individual with Merchandize other than those who may be in his immediate service."²⁰ In the new venture, Smith invested the \$5,000 owed him by Ashley from the dissolution of their old partnership. Jackson and Sublette jointly invested a little over \$3,000. While scholars of the fur trade have often questioned Jackson's involvement with the other two men because of their lack of information concerning his prior activities, it is clear that he was an integral part of their financial success. For the next four years a truly convivial partnership was formed. The three men had individual strengths and destinies that would enhance and enrich the whole.

Following the rendezvous, according to Campbell, "Smith, Sublette, and Jackson divided up the country between them." Jedediah Smith began the first of two famous treks to the Southwest below the Great Salt Lake, eventually ending up in Southern California before he

^{12.} Fort Krowa was located on the west bank of the Missouri River between the Bad and the White rivers. Although these men started out with few horses, they were able to trade for additional stock later as they moved west.

^{13.} Fred R. Gowans, Rocky Mountain Rendezvous: A History of the Fur Trade Rendezvous, 1825-1840 (Layton, Utah: Gibbs-Smith Publisher, 1985), pp. 17-18. This is the best source book dealing specifically with the rendezvous.

¹⁴ Morgan, West of Ashley, p. 129

^{15.} Ibid., p. 303, footnote 299. Boone provided this information to the New York *Graphic* in a letter dated January 8, 1877.

^{16.} See portions of Ogden's journal in Morgan, West of Ashley, p. 147.

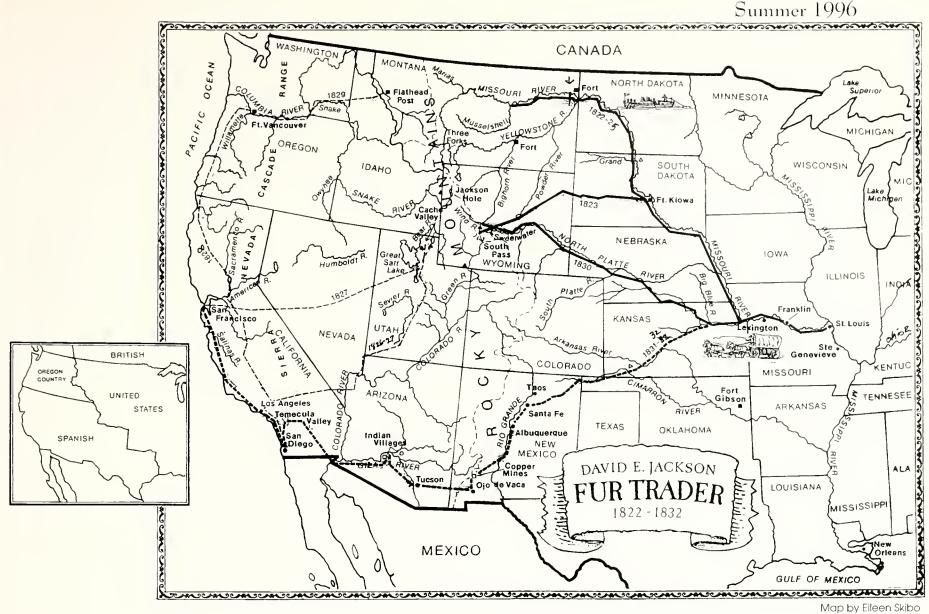
^{17.} The map, with its accompanying notation, is the Smith-Fremont-Gibbs Map and a copy is contained in the pocket of the book, Dale L. Morgan and Carl I. Wheat, *Jedediah Smith and His Maps of the American West* (San Francisco: American Geographical Society, 1954).

^{18.} Morgan, West of Ashley, p. 148. Citing several contemporary sources,

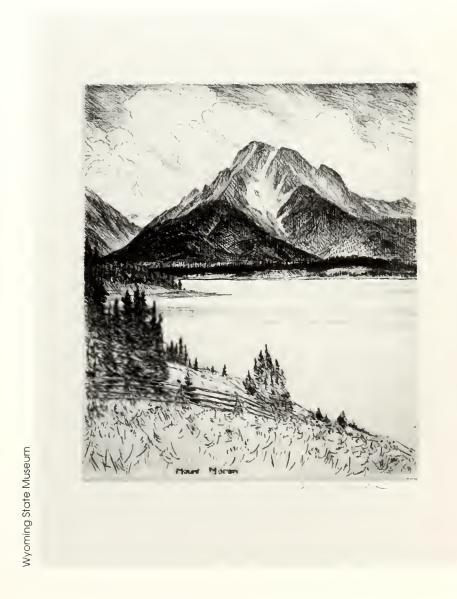
Morgan recounts this exploration.
19. "A Narrative of Col. Robert Campbell's Experiences in the Rocky Mountains Fur Trade from 1825 to 1835 (Dictated to William Fayel in 1870)," p. 5, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

^{20.} Articles of Agreement between Smith, Jackson and Sublette, July 18, 1826, Sublette Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

^{21. &}quot;Campbell Narrative," p. 7.



Above: David E. Jackson's trading routes from 1822 to 1832. Right: Jackson Lake by Hans Kleiber.



began working his way back to the Rockies. The other two partners continued north up the Bear River and crossed over to the Snake River. Campbell wrote:

Jackson and Sublette with myself ascended the Snake river and tributaries near the Three Tetons and hunted along the forks of the Missouri, following the Gallatin, and trapped along across the headwaters of the Columbia.²² While following this course, the brigade came upon the wonders of Yellowstone National Park, reaching it by way of Two Ocean Pass.

The group once again wintered in Cache Valley. Sublette and Moses "Black" Harris left the valley on January 1, 1827, to take an order for supplies to Ashley in St. Louis, an indication that the fall hunt was considered successful. More importantly, a pattern developed in which Jackson functioned as the firm's field captain and held the group together during the winter and spring hunts, while Sublette usually made the trip to the East for supplies. Smith, meanwhile, was exploring far afield, presumably to look for new areas to hunt beaver. His wanderings provided invaluable geographical knowledge for further western settlement, but the firm never benefitted financially from Smith's explorations.²³

In the summer of 1827, after being in the mountains for five years, Jackson accompanied Sublette and the fur caravan to Missouri. On October 1, 1827, the two men met William Ashley in Lexington, Missouri. At their meeting, Ashley signed a quit claim acknowledging payment in full owed him by SJS and sent another outfit with them back to the mountains.²⁴

The winter was a disaster for the firm. While Jackson and Sublette were in Missouri, Robert Campbell was left in charge. Campbell was a relative new-comer to the mountains, and in sharp contrast to Jackson, he lacked Jackson's knowledge and experience. Consequently, under his command, twelve SJS men were killed and more than \$20,000 in horses, merchandise, and furs were lost as a result of Indian depredations. During the years under Jackson's command no men were ever killed.

uring the next two years Jackson travelled extensively in the mountains. He directed trapping excursions up to and beyond HBC's Flathead Post into present north ern Montana where in 1829 he met his partner Jedediah Smith returning to the Rockies after Smith's two disastrous trips to the West Coast. Jackson ranged as far east as the Powder River where he and Smith joined their brigades to winter in 1829-30. For his final trapping season Jackson returned to the area he knew well, "Snake country" in present southern Idaho and

western Wyoming. At the rendezvous site at present Riverton, Wyoming, a contemporary recorded that Jackson arrived "with plenty of beaver." ²⁵

At the rendezvous the three partners tallied up their profits for the year and were gratified to see it was the best year yet. At the same time, for various reasons, they decided to quit the Rockies. Perhaps they wanted to get out while they were ahead. The powerful American Fur Company was beginning to make serious inroads into the Rocky Mountain trade. Both Smith and Jackson had some family concerns that needed to be addressed. Sublette was destined to come back, but Jackson and Smith never did. On August 4, 1830, the firm of Smith, Jackson and Sublette ceased to exist and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company came into being, composed of partners Thomas Fitzpatrick, James Bridger, Milton Sublette, Henry Fraeb, and Jean Gervais, some of the more capable SJS brigade leaders.

When assessing Jackson's contributions to SJS and to the fur trade in general, Don Berry sized up this enigmatic individual:

Firm, silent, almost anonymous Davey Jackson was the real backbone. He was the trapper par excellence; he didn't make history, he didn't explore terra incognita, he didn't lose men right and left. He wasn't much interested in politics, he had no grandiose ambitions. But season after season he quietly brought into rendezvous the furs that kept SJS in business.²⁶

Jackson's profits after eight years in the fur trade totalled about \$28,000, a tidy sum for the early 1800s. The adventures and enterprises in which he would be engaged for the remainder of his life would not prove as lucrative.

The former partners left the mountains in August and arrived in St. Louis on October 10, 1830. Jackson and Sublette formed a new firm for the purpose of supplying future rendezvous, but soon set their sites on Santa Fe.²⁷ Thanks to their earnings in the Rockies, they had sufficient capital to invest in the venture. However, it is not clear why this decision was reached. Perhaps a few months in St. Louis was enough civilization for the trio.

26. Berry, Scoundrels, p. 246.

James Bridger
Western History Collection,
University of Oklohomo



22. Ibid.

^{23.} Smith's forays into unknown territory ultimately cost the Smith, Jackson and Sublette firm more than it received. Some of the families of the more than two dozen men killed while travelling with Smith later brought suits against the company and only Jackson and Sublette were still alive to answer their claims.

²⁴ Quitclaim from Ashley to Jackson & Sublette, August 1, 1827, Sublette

^{25.} Berry, Scoundrels, pp. 252-53; Morgan, Smith, pp. 314-15.



Drawing by Eileen Skibo.

David Jackson and his partners head to the rendezvous site at present Riverton, Wyoming.

Smith could have thought the Santa Fe trade would be just the enterprise to help his younger brothers become involved in business since both Peter and Austin ended up going with the caravan to New Mexico. Also, Milton Sublette, one of William's younger brothers and a partner in the newly-formed Rocky Mountain Fur Company, had some experience with the fur trade in the southwest beginning in 1826. It is possible he could have had some influence on his older brother's decision to give the southwest a try.²⁸

In order to go, Jackson himself had personal matters to settle. Before the local masonic lodge in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, Jackson presented a petition for initiation into that brotherhood. There was an urgency to take care of his request because "it is represented that he is about to leave the State." A committee was appointed that very evening and after some discussion, "since the petitioner has been many years well known to most of the members of this Lodge, as an honorable man and a good citi-

zen," they gave Jackson a favorable report to the membership as a whole. A vote was taken and he was initiated as a Mason in "the first Degree." The very next night, December 28, two more ballots were taken and Jackson was raised to the second degree and then to the third degree or a Master Mason.²⁹

Perhaps a deciding factor in the decision to go to the Southwest indirectly involved the new Rocky Mountain Fur Company which Jackson & Sublette had agreed to outfit.³⁰ When its representative, Thomas Fitzpatrick, did not arrive in St. Louis by the agreed upon date, Jackson and Sublette figured they could sell their wares in Santa Fe. Fitzpatrick finally reached Missouri in early May when he met the caravan in either Lexington or on the road west to Independence. Since the group was, by then, committed to go to Santa Fe, it was suggested that Fitzpatrick accompany them and upon arrival in Santa Fe they would outfit him for a return to the mountains. This Fitzpatrick agreed to do.³¹

^{27.} Dale Morgan's theory is that Jedediah Smith initiated the dissolving of the Smith, Jackson & Sublette partnership, because Jackson and Sublette immediately formed a new firm. Smith had also just received the news about his mother's death from letters brought to the 1830 rendezvous by Sublette. In some of Smith's letters to this family, he expressed concern about the welfare of his father and younger brothers, so he probably saw the need for business activities. In addition, he had been successful during the 1829-30 hunt, thus making up for some of his lack of productivity during the previous two years when he contributed little monetarily to the partnership. See Morgan, Jedediah Smith, pp. 316-17.

^{28.} David J. Wever, *The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest*, 1540-1846 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 146; Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, p. 239.

^{29.} Minutes of the Tucker Lodge, December 27, 1830, and December 28, 1830. Jackson must have remained active in this lodge until his departure for Santa Fe and California because in the lodge minutes of March 21 he signed himself as secretary protem.

^{30.} When the three partners bought out William Ashley in 1826 it was agreed that an express would be sent to Ashley in St. Louis by March of 1827 to confirm their order for supplies for the 1827 rendezvous. Dale Morgan speculates that the same arrangements were made between Jackson & Sublette and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. See Morgan, Jededial Smith, p. 321.

^{31.} See Gowans, *Rendezvous*, p. 61; LeRoy Hafen, *Broken Hand: The Life of Thomas Fitzpatrick* (Denver, Colorado: The Old West Publishing Company, 1931), pp. 94-95; Sunder, *Bill Sublette*, p. 95



Scotts Bluff National Monument

William Henry Jackson's Fur Traders Caravan. Rocky Mountain fur traders' train leaving St. Louis (1830) to open the first wagon road to the edge of Old Oregon.

The travelers had reason for optimism because it was common knowledge that the Santa Fe trade was growing in importance. Josiah Gregg, who traveled just one month behind Jackson's caravan, later wrote that from 1822 to 1831, investment in merchandise had risen from approximately \$15,000 to \$250,000.³² The usual merchandise carried to Santa Fe were cotton and woolen goods and garments, and light hardware. Returning caravans usually brought back horses, mules, beaver pelts, buffalo robes, and most important, specie. These Mexican silver coins helped put Missouri on a sound monetary basis.³³ In addition, those Americans participating in the Santa Fe trade brought back valuable information concerning the general conditions and geography of the area. They also came

to realize what a tenuous hold the Mexican government had in the southwest, a fact that would later contribute to United States' designs on the territory and eventual interest in migration by American citizens.

To ready themselves, Smith took steps in January 1831 to acquire a passport to the Mexican provinces, and Sublette did the same in late March.³⁴ No such document has yet been found for Jackson. In addition, Sublette prevailed upon Governor Miller of Missouri to write a letter to Mexican authorities requesting their cooperation in the business pursuits contemplated by the three men.³⁵ Samuel Parkman, who came out of the mountains with the party in August and was hired by Smith to copy his journals and

32 Josiah Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, ed. by Max L. Moorhead (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 332. In a letter B. Platte & Co., St. Vrain mentioned that perhaps the trade still had its drawbacks, but the fact that St. Vrain, in partnership with Charles Bent, planned to continue to sell merchandise in the Southwest, as mentioned in the letter, indicates there was money to be made. St. Vrain wrote in assessing the Santa Fe situation, "there is no news in this Cuntry, worth your notices more than money is verrey Scrse, goods Sells low and dutes verrey hie, but Still the prospects are better here than at home." Ceran St. Vrain to B. Platte & Company, January 1, 1831, Santa Fe Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

33. Lynn I. Perrigo, The American Southwest: Its Peoples and Cultures (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), p. 106.

35. Governor John Miller to Their Excellencies the Governors of Santa Fe, Chihuahua, Sonora and Such other of the Mexican Republic As the Bearer may visit, April 15, 1831, Copy in the Sublette Papers.

^{34.} William H. Ashley to Thomas Hart Benton, March 23, 1831, Ashley Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. William Sublette Passport, No. 2332, April 9, 1831, Sublette Papers. Also see Sunder, William Sublette, p. 94 and Morgan, Jedediah Smith, pp. 325, 434. Dale Morgan states that Jackson could have gone on Sublette's passport as the two younger Smith brothers went on Jedediah's. See Ibid., p. 434.

to help draft his map during the winter of 1830-31, also spent that winter learning Spanish "'in preparation for a visit to New Mexico, which he had then in contemplation, and which was carried out in the spring of 1831. "36

The caravan consisting of about eighty-five men with twenty-four mule-drawn wagons filled with merchandise left camp on the Big Blue on May 4, 1831. Eleven of these conveyances were owned by Smith, ten by the new partnership of Jackson and Sublette, two by some other merchants and one was a six-pounder cannon owned jointly by Smith, Jackson and Sublette. It has been asserted that this was the largest and best-equipped merchant wagon train which had ever up to that time left the river for Santa Fe.³⁷

Unfortunately, during the caravan's journey, two men would be lost. One was the clerk, a Mr. Minter, who was killed by the Pawnee Indians just two weeks into the trip. The other death would be far more traumatic to Jackson and Sublette, for it was their good friend, Jedediah Smith.

> Ithough the trail to Santa Fe was well marked as far as the Arkansas River, from

there to the Cimarron River it was not very visible, having been obliterated by herds of buffalo. In this area the party became lost and went longer without water on those hot, parched plains than normally would be the case. After three days of wandering Smith and Fitzpatrick went off in different directions to see if they could find a water hole while Jackson and Sublette continued on with the caravan. After following one of the buffalo trails, Smith was successful in finding a water hole but in the process was attacked and killed by Comanches.³⁸ Josiah Gregg received the melancholy news of Smith's death from a traveler heading east from Santa Fe. He blamed the mishap on the inexperience of the group on that trail, "...but being veteran pioneers of the Rocky Mountains, they concluded they could go anywhere; and imprudently set out without a single person in their company at all competent to guide them on the route."39 Although Jackson and Sublette guessed the worst about their partner, they did not learn the details about his death until they reached Santa Fe. Some Mexicans in possession of Smith's pistols and rifle, which they received in trade from the Comanches, told them the sad news.⁴⁰ Death was a constant companion when these men worked in the moun-

The caravan arrived in Santa Fe on July 4, 1831.41 Be-

tains, but when it came to such a close associate, one can

36. Morgan quoting Parkman in Jedediali Smith, p. 433.

be sure it affected them personally.

cause of Smith's death new business arrangements had to be made regarding the partnership and disposition of Smith's merchandise. Fortunately, before the group left Lexington Smith made out a will in which he named his father, brothers, and sisters as his heirs and William Ashley as his executor. 42 Samuel Parkman arranged with Jackson and Sublette to dispose of Smith's share in the party.⁴³

By prior arrangement, probably when Fitzpatrick first encountered the caravan in May leaving Missouri, Jackson and Sublette outfitted Fitzpatrick with two-thirds of his gear and from Smith's estate, the other one-third, all supplies totaling about \$6,000. Taking a few men with him and picking up more recruits in Taos, including the legendary Kit Carson, Fitzpatrick headed north back to his partners' mountain encampment after assuring his debtors that by December 31 he would have the beaver peltry in the Taos vicinity to satisfy the debt the Rocky Mountain Fur Company owed to Jackson & Sublette and the estate of Jedediah Smith.⁴⁴ Since both Jackson and Sublette anticipated leaving the area soon, they appointed David Waldo, a prominent New Mexican merchant and old friend of Jackson's family, as their agent to receive payment from Rocky Mountain Fur Company "in good clean, well handled mountain fur at the rate of four dollars twenty five cents per pound."45

Afterwards Jackson decided to go to California, but what influenced him is unknown. His curiosity may have been piqued by stories about the area told him by Smith following his two visits there. In addition, Jackson may have noticed that the mule was becoming a gainful trade item out of the Southwest. Long appreciated by the Spanish and Mexicans, mules were highly prized by the southern plantation owners and farmers on the American frontier. Carl Hays claimed that Jackson first learned about the lucrative possibilities of purchasing mules in California for the Missouri and southern market from one Henry Hook, "a fellow member of the Masonic Order" and reputed to be from the same part of the country as Jackson. 46 Hook had just arrived in New Mexico from California by way of Guaymas, Sonora, and he was probably influential in Jackson's decision to go on to California.47 Another influential person was Ewing Young, a former partner of William Wolfskill –whose name has been connected in history with the Old Spanish Trail—and who arrived in New Mexico from California. He was interested in returning to the coast,

^{37.} Ezra D. Smith, "Jedediah Smith and the Settlement of Kansas," Collections, Kansas State Historical Society, 12 (1912): see also, Morgan, Jedediali Smith, p. 326. There is a slight discrepancy on the exact numbers in this caravan between Smith and Morgan, but because of Morgan's reputation as an excellent historian I have chosen to use his breakdown as to the composition of the party.

^{38.} Morgan, Jedediah Smith, pp. 329-30; Gregg, Commerce, pp. 64-65. Sublette reported the deaths of both Minter and Smith. William Sublette to William Ashley, September 24, 1831, Sublette Papers.

^{39.} Gregg, Commerce, p. 64. 40. Morgan, Jedediah Smith, pp. 329-30.

^{41.} Sunder, Bill Sublette, p. 98.

^{42.} Morgan, Jedediah Smith, p. 327.

^{43.} Sunder, Bill Sublette, p. 99. It could have been because of Parkman's knowledge of the Spanish language, although somewhat limited, that he was given this responsibility since negotiations with Mexican authorities were involved. Also, he had been working with Smith for some time and was probably more knowledgeable concerning the business than were Smith's two younger brothers.

^{44.} Hafen, Broken Hand, pp. 97-98; Gowans, Rendezvous, p. 51.

^{45.} In an agreement, David Waldo was designated as receiving agent for the Jackson and Sublette Company. Agreement between Jackson & Sublette and David Waldo, August 23, 1831, Sublette Papers.
46. Hays, "Jackson," pp. 229-30.

^{47.} Bancroft wrote that Henry Hook had been a partner of Ewing Young and had, as a Santa Fe trader, "assisted pecuniarily" the autumn 1830 trapping expedition of William Wolfskill. Hubert Howe Bancroft, The History of California, 1825-1840 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1885), p. 386.

possibly because he was considered a perennial troublemaker by the New Mexico authorities.48

Even though Sublette anticipated a sizable profit from their recent expedition, he was not pleased with the country or the business, and as a result, the partnership of Jackson and Sublette was dissolved. 49 In its place David Waldo and Jackson formed a partnership in which Waldo would take charge of disposing of Jackson's share of the remaining merchandise brought from St. Louis. Ewing Young was later taken in as a junior partner for the purpose of joining Jackson in a mule and horse buying/fur trapping enterprise.

he new partnership of Jackson, Waldo and Young decided to split their expedition into two companies. Jackson would lead one group consisting of eleven men including himself, his negro slave Jim, Peter Smith, one of Jedediah's younger brothers, Jonathan Trumbull Warner, and David Waldo's brother, William.⁵⁰ Jackson's band would go directly to California to purchase mules and horses, going as far north as Monterey and possibly even to San Francisco. Young would lead the other group numbering between thirty to thirty-six men.⁵¹ Young's men would trap for beaver on the Gila River and lower Colorado River and then meet Jackson in the Los Angeles area. Together the two groups would bring newly purchased stock and peltries back to New Mexico.

Jackson and his party left Santa Fe on September 6, 1831. Every member of his group had a mule to ride. There were also seven pack mules of which five were laden with bags of silver coin, the proceeds from merchandise sold by Jackson in Santa Fe and destined to be used to purchase mules from the ranchos and missions in California. The party traveled south along the "Del Norte river" (the upper Rio Grande), left the Rio Grande heading southwest and then crossed directly west from New Mexico into Arizona, arriving at the famous, abandoned mission of San Xavier del Bac south of present Tucson. In so doing Jackson's party blazed a new trail and undoubtedly became the first Americans to view this mission founded in the early 1700s by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino.⁵² Afterwards, Jackson moved northwest and eventually picked up the Gila River which he followed west to the Colorado, crossing it into California.⁵³ This route would be used later by both Captain Philip St. George Cooke with the Mormon Battalion during the Mexican War and

by the Butterfield Overland Mail. Jackson's party finally arrived at San Diego in early November 1831. They arrived in Los Angeles the following December.

Prior to Jackson's departure from Santa Fe, Henry, Hood asked Captain John Rogers Cooper in Monterey to cooperate with Jackson in his mule and horse buying venture.⁵⁴ This was the same Captain Cooper who had assisted Jedediah Smith by guaranteeing his conduct to the Mexican authorities in California in 1827. In turn, three weeks after his arrival in the Los Angeles area Jacksor: wrote to Captain Cooper on December 24, 1831 and included with his letter the letter of introduction from Hook The contents of his letter raise speculations that some mishap was keeping him there: "There has been something said of my taking part in the late dispute in government that is fals [sic]...and I inclose a letter of Mr. Hooks that I intended to be the bearer but opposition causes $m\epsilon$ to forward it by mail. He called upon Cooper as a "frience unknown" to act as his agent in procuring "all the mules from 3 years...not to exceed one thousand."55

Jackson then went north as far as the missions on the southern shore of the bay of San Francisco where he made contact with Cooper.56 Jackson brought back with him the \$30,000 bond signed by Jedediah Smith to protec Cooper when he took responsibility for Smith's conduc back in 1827.57

On the way from San Miguel to Los Angeles, Jack son and his party were unable to ford the flooding Sali nas River and were detained for fourteen days across from the mission of Soledad. Twenty-four animals go across the river, but the mission charged Jackson ten dol lars for rounding up and taking care of them. Much to Jackson's chagrin two horses and one mule were miss ing. To help compensate for his losses Jackson took a mule belonging to the priest and told him that if the ani mals were found the priest could keep them.⁵⁸ Jackson eventually returned to Los Angeles in the latter part o March with "a much less number of mules than was an ticipated."59 The decrease was probably due to his late start up the coast and the delay near Soledad. Also hi cut short his trading activities because he knew tha Young would be expecting his return.

Ewing Young's party arrived in the pueblo of Lo Angeles on March 14, 1832.60 Their efforts were even les successful than those of Jackson. There was no shortage of beaver on the way to California, but the traps they used

^{48.} Weber, Taos Trappers, p. 146.

^{49.} Sunder, *Bill Sublette*, p. 99. 50. Jonathan Trumbull Warner, "Reminiscences of Early California, 1831-1846," Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California (1907-1908): 178; Hayes, "Jackson," p. 231.

^{51.} Job F. Dye, "Recollections of a Pioneer of California," Santa Cruz Sentincl, May 1, 1869, p. 18; May 8, 1869, p. 18; May 15, 1869, p. 18; Warner, "Reminiscences," p. 186.

^{52.} Hayes, "Jackson," p. 233.

^{53.} In Jackson's attempts to establish this route Warner wrote that "there could not be found in either Tucson or Altar - although they were both military posts and towns of considerable population - a man who had even been over the route from those towns to California by the way of the Colorado River, or even to that river, to serve as a guide, or from whom any information concerning the route could be obtained." See, Warner, "Reminiscences," p. 188.

^{54.} Henry Hook to John Cooper, August 18, 1831, Vallejo Document: Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California,

^{55.} David Jackson to John Cooper, December 24, 1831, Vallejo Documents 56. Warner, "Reminiscences," p. 178. 57. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, p. 423. When Smith was in California illegally i 1827 Captain Cooper guaranteed with his bond the good conduct and behavio of Smith as he left California by a specified route while travelling back to the Great Salt Lake area. In turn, Smith signed a bond at Monterey on November 1. 1827 "for \$30,000 insuring the faithful performance of the bond given the government.

^{58.} David Jackson to John Cooper, February 29, 1832, Vallejo Documents. 59. Warner, "Reminiscences," p. 170. 60. Dye, "Recollections," p. 27.

^{61.} Robert Glass Cleland, This Reckless Breed of Men (New York: Alfred 1 Knopf, 1952), pp. 236-37; Warner, "Reminiscences," p. 186.

were defective, thus their yield was disappointing.⁶¹

The two groups met, as prearranged, at the Rancho de la Sierra on the Santa Ana River. Originally the partnership planned to purchase fifteen hundred to two thousand mules, and Ewing Young and his men would help Jackson drive the herds back to New Mexico. In actuality, they had only about six hundred mules and one hundred horses. The extra manpower was not necessary, but Young and his men would help Jackson get across the Colorado River. In May the combined parties retraced their route to the Colorado River and reached it in June. According to Warner, they experienced difficulties in getting the herds across it:

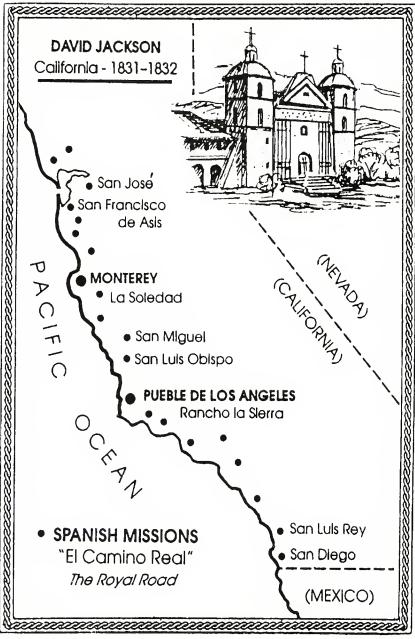
We...found the river nearly bank full. With great difficulty and after some twelve days of incessant toil in the burning sun and other casualties the nucles and horses were swam to the east shore.⁶²

After that, most of the men drove the herd to New Mexico, while Young and a few men would return to Los Angeles to purchase additional mules and hunt and trap. Before going their separate ways Jackson gave Young \$3,000 to purchase additional mules and about \$7000 in supplies. Young sent Jackson back with six and one-half bales of beaver skins to take to New Mexico.

On their return journey to New Mexico, Jackson and about 30 men followed essentially the incoming route from the previous fall. However, conditions were far different because now the party was traveling through arid desert in the summer and it was still too early for the late summer monsoons of the Southwest. Fourteen and one-half years later when he led the Mormon Battalion along approximately the same route when he was between Tucson and the Gila River, Captain Cooke wrote in his journal: "A Mr. Jackson once lost many of a small drove of mules he took through in an imprudent manner in July." ⁶³

Actually, Jackson and his party arrived back in Santa Fe the first week in July, 1832. Problems developed between his party and the New Mexican authorities over the furs that Young sent back with Jackson. Some of Young's men reported to the officials that the furs belonged to their former leader. But Jackson maintained they belonged to David Waldo who, as a Mexican citizen, was issued a license which Jackson had in his pos-

62. Warner, "Reminiscences," p. 179.



Map by Fileen Skibo

David Jackson's travels through California, 1831-1832

session. Knowing of Young's reputation with Mexican officials, Jackson declined to mention that Young was a partner of the two. Surviving documents do not shed any light on how this controversy was concluded.⁶⁴

After resolving the problems with the beaver pelts and disposing of some of his stock brought from California, Jackson and David Waldo left Santa Fe in late summer of 1832. They were later joined by Ira Smith who had arrived from the east to drive back to Missouri the forty-five mules belonging to his brother Peter, his share

^{63.} Philip St. George Cooke, William Henry Chase Whiting, and Francois Navier Aubry, Exploring Southwestern Trail, 1846-1854, ed. by Ralph P. Bieber Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938), p. 166. The two guides that Cooke used for his expedition were Antoine Leroux and Pauline (or Powell) Weaver. Carl Hays believed that these men were also a part of Jackson and Young's enterprise and for this reason they were familiar with the route. This undoubtedly was how Cooke knew about Jackson's experience in the ligent.

⁶⁴ Jose Manuel Ortega, a member of Young's trapping party, was the tirst to report the existence of the turs to the second alcalde of Santa Fe. Other members of the group, all from Taos, were also willing to testify that the furs belonged to Ewing Young. See Weber, *Taos Trappers*, pp. 150-51.

for services on the California expedition.65 Whether on a whim or by previous plan, Jackson and Waldo left the Santa Fe Trail and headed for Fort Gibson, possibly leaving the Missouri-bound group in the middle of Kansas while they continued following the Arkansas River.66 lackson's motive was either to see if there was a ready market for the mules at the fort, or to help Waldo find a place to keep the stock until he arranged for their sale to southern plantations. In the fall of 1833, W. P. Jackson, Jackson's son, travelled from Memphis, Tennessee, to the Fort Smith-Van Buren, Arkansas area and picked up two hundred mules that Waldo was holding there.67

ackson's high hopes for his Santa Fe trade and California mule expeditions were not fully realized for several reasons. First, there was a personal loss with the death of his friend, Jedediah Smith. Second, his ventures did not live up to his financial expectations because Jackson was unable to procure the amount of livestock in California that he anticipated and, if Cook's information is correct, he lost some in crossing the desert. Nor did the fur trade pan out. There is some uncertainty as to whether or not he and Waldo were ever able to profit from Young's furs that were confiscated by the authorities. It is doubtful that Young ever sent additional livestock or furs on to Santa Fe to Jackson as agreed because Young never again returned to the Santa Fe-Taos area. Had Waldo and Jackson been able to profit by the five hundred confiscated beaver skins they would probably have netted no more than \$4,000.68 But when considering all of the above, along with the addition of normal expenditures such a venture would entail, Jackson did not realize much monetarily for his troubles. That he led one of the longest, if not the longest, trail drives in his country's history probably mattered very little to him. Jackson might have felt somewhat compensated for his losses if he believed, as did his former partner Jed Smith who wrote: "...but I was also led on by the love of novelty common to all which is much increased by the pursuit of its gratification."69 However, Jackson was far more pragmatic than Smith. Furthermore, Jackson managed to keep the men serving under him alive, even though they were often faced with life-threatening situations.

After Fort Gibson, Jackson invested in lead mining in Missouri and speculated in land in the former Indian territories of the South. Jackson did not lack the vision or ambition to improve his situation, but he was deficient in the business acumen possessed by former partner, Bill Sublette, which was Sublette's main contribution to the success of SJS. Jackson was also unprepared for the complicated legal ramifications of business deals in which he became embroiled. His problem was that he had become too accustomed to the simple conduct of affairs he experienced in the mountains where his associates dealt fairly with one another and where all one needed was a handshake to seal a bargain. When he died, his oldest son was kept busy in four states trying to untangle the web of business projects his father had weaved. To make his financial matters worse, there was also a constant drain on his cash reserves because the families of men killed while serving under Jed Smith brought suit

against the old firm.

Personal matters also took a toll on him. In 1830 before he left for Santa Fe he found his brother in Ste. Genevieve in poor health.⁷⁰ A few months later George died, and Jackson shouldered the responsibility of seeing to the material well-being of his brother's wife, three daughters, and one son. At about the same time, his estranged wife sent their younger son, William Pitt, to live with his father because she could no longer manage him. He arrived with one of Jackson's younger halfbrothers. Jackson involved the young men in his business ventures and a rapport developed between him and his son. Sadly, within a few years of their reunion, William Pitt died of complications following an accidentally selfinflicted gunshot wound. David's halfbrother died two years earlier of injuries following a foolish stunt in which he attempted to prove he could jump "as high as his own head."71 As for the rest of his family, David was never to enjoy their association again. He attempted to correspond with his remaining son, Ned. Shortly before his death, Jackson's last letter was typically unemotional, informing his son of his business dealings, that is, to whom he owed money and those who owed him in return. He also reported the death of Will-

65. Stella D. Hare, "Jedediah Smith's Younger Brother Ira: Lawman at Sacramento, 1851-52, Re-Discovered by Research," The Pacific Historian, 11 (Summer 1967): 44.

66. In a letter written shortly before he died Jackson told his son Ned that he had loaned \$100 to a "James Hamilton 1st Lieut of Dragoons in the fall of 32 he was stationed at fourt Gibson Cherokee Lands." (Jackson, Lamp of Remembrance, p. 53.) Fort Gibson is located on the left bank of the Grand River near its confluence with the Arkansas in present-day Muskogee County, Oklahoma. It was built in 1824 and abandoned in 1857. See Gregg, Commerce, p. 230, footnote.

67. Hayes, "David Jackson," p. 240. Hays suggests that it was a result of this employment that Waldo met his future wife, whom he married "at Union Mission, about 25 miles from Fort Gibson, Jan. 23, 1834." Waldo would later become a prominent resident of both Missouri and California. He received a memorial for risking his "life and his fortune rescuing several parties of California emigrants" in 1850. He also ran unsuccessfully for Governor of California on the Whig ticket. See Waldo, "Recollections," pp. 50-61.

68. If each pelt weighed the average 1.6 pounds the five hundred beaver skins would weigh 800 pounds. Probably the most they could have sold them for was five dollars per pound. This figures out to be \$4,000. This amount is merely speculative because of the fluctuation in the price of beaver due to the quality of the skins and the demand in the market place. For information about beaver pelt prices, see Gowans, Rendezvous.

71. Jackson, Lamp of Remembrance, pp. 50-51.

^{69.} Quoted in Morgan, Jedediah Smith, p. 237.

^{70.} Much of the information concerning the personal and family affairs of David E. Jackson after he left the Rockies was derived from Jackson, Lamp of Remembrance. In addition, copies of itemized bills from Ste. Genevieve merchants indicating that David was taking care of George's family can be found in "Jackson Documents," Morgan Papers.

iam Pitt the previous spring. What he did not report was that he himself was dying of typhoid which he had contracted at the home of a debtor in Paris, Tennessee. But his letter is devoid of self-pity, apology, or regret, containing only acceptance of misfortune and displaying an attitude that was no doubt a legacy of his tenuous Rocky Mountain experiences. On Christmas Eve, 1837, David Jackson died in a rented room on the second floor of the Atkins and Brown Tavern in Paris Tennessee.

David E. Jackson was an actor in the very drama that has become a part of this nation's lore. He witnessed and participated in the pushing of civilization farther west, even though he chose to spend little time confined within civilized society. He associated with pivotal players in the formation of western history. Although he has not received the attention accorded some of his contemporaries, one can take comfort in the words of Robert Cleland who wrote: "But if historical records have proved so indifferent to Jackson's memory, the lake and valley among the tetons that bear his name are monuments sublime and enduring enough for any man."72

72. Cleland, Reckless Breed, p. 235.

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This article was designed by Melinda Brazzale.



Drawing by Eileen Skibo

... Jackson's party blazed a new trail and undoubtedly became the first Americans to view this mission (San Xavier del Bac) founded in the early 1700s by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino.

On the Heels of the Handcart Tragedy:



by Melvin L. Bashore

n 1856, the William Bond family traveled across the vast prairies of America to Brigham Young's paradise for Mormons in the Great Basin. They were among the estimated 12,000 emigrants to travel overland that year. After months of disappointing delays, they joined a Mormon wagon company, which was one of two independent Mormon wagon companies that followed on the heels of two ill-fated Mormon handcart companies.

The year 1856 also marked the Mormons' use of handcarts as an affordable way for transporting masses of poor European converts across the plains to Utah. Although a combination of poor judgment and an early winter spelled disaster for the last two handcart companies in 1856, more than 800 people in the first three handcart companies that season made the journey successfully. During the years from 1856 through 1860 when handcarts were used, more than five thousand Mormons traveled in wagon companies while three thousand emigrants pushed and pulled the two-wheel carts. Undoubtedly even more emigrants would have come in handcart companies were it not for the misfortune of the 1856 handcart disaster and the ensuing question about the safety of that form of travel in the minds of European converts.

The tragic story of the Willie and Martin handcart companies, in which 200 out of 1,076 emigrants died, has been recounted in numerous books and articles.² In contrast, the story of the Hodgetts and Hunt wagon companies has received little attention and only then as limited references in articles and books focusing on the handcart tragedy. There seems to be two possible reasons why this extraordinary story has essentially been left untold. First, the story of the handcart expedi-

Engraving from The Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History of the Mormons, From the First Vision of Joseph Smith to the Last Courtship of Brigham Young by T.B.H. Stenhouse (Salt Lake City: Shepard Book Company, 1904), p. 325.

Mormondom's Forgotten 1856 Wagon Companies

^{1.} Merrill J. Mates, *Platte River Road Narratives* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 3.

^{2.} The best books on the handcart disaster are LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1960); Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 221-59; and Rebecca Cornwall and Leonard Arrington, *Rescue of the 1856 Handcart Companies* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981).



FROM FREDERICK PIERCY AND JAMES LINFORTH, FD., Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards, 1855), p. 81

tion was not recounted in any detail until over two decades after it occurred. Handcart pioneer John Jaques surmised that many did not care to be reminded about their experiences:

For years after the journey was made, nobody wished to say or hear much about it, and those who were in the company cared to remember little of it. The affair was one of those disagreeable things, like some hateful dream, or dreadful vision, or horrible nightmare, that people seem indisposed to refer to but rather tacitly agree to forget.³

It is likewise understandable that the members of the wagon companies would not want to dredge up memories of trail hardships and deaths. Secondly, the uniqueness and drama of the handcart mode of travel, the severity of their experience, and the great number of casualties that they suffered all may have contributed to causing the story of the two wagon companies to be overlooked.

3. Salt Lake Daily Herald, January 19, 1879, p. 1.

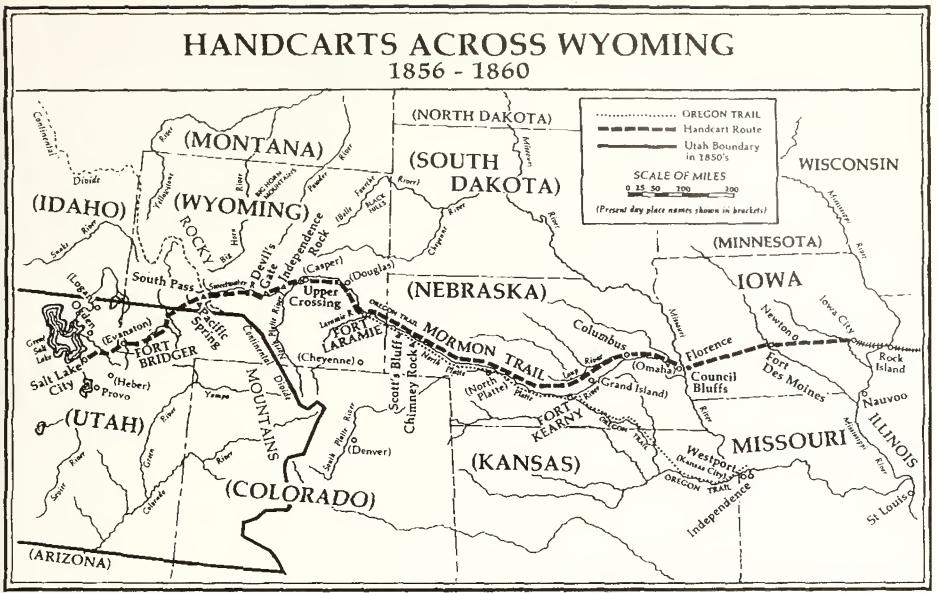
he Hodgetts and Hunt wagon companies were independent companies captained respectively by William B. Hodgetts and John A. Hunt. Both men were instructed by Mormon church leaders to follow behind the handcart companies of James D. Willie and Edward Martin. Church leaders reasoned that should the handcarts become disabled, the wagon companies could render assistance where needed. As it turned out, the Hodgetts and Hunt wagon companies suffered as much from the cold, snow, and starvation as did the handcart companies.

In 1856 the William Bond family, Mormon converts from England, travelled by rail from New York to Iowa City, the assembly point and staging ground for Mormon emigrants as well as the staging area of the Hodgetts and Hunt wagon companies. Like others, their journey was not without some difficulty. In contrast to handcart emigrants who received Church assistance to emigrate and travel, wagon company emigrants had to furnish their own outfits and provisions. Mormon apostle John Taylor had advised the Bond family to purchase their supplies and travel fares through Church travel and purchasing agents. They contracted with the Church agents for \$600 to purchase a wagon, two yoke of oxen, supplies, and first class railroad fare from New York to Iowa City. According to the contract, their wagon and supplies were to be delivered to them at the staging grounds within a month. Unfortunately, the Bond family was doomed to disappointment. The first inkling of misfortune occurred when they were transferred from regular passenger cars in Chicago into "dreadful[ly] dirty" lumber, hog, and cattle cars for the remainder of the trip to Iowa City. Even though they preceded the majority of the Mormon emigrants and thus did not have the advantage of large numbers or accompanying Mormon travel agents to smooth their passage, their experience in traveling to Iowa City by train was not uncommon. Elizabeth White Stewart, a member of the Hunt Wagon Company, traveled with five hundred other Mormons on a 1,500-mile train journey from Boston to Iowa in late June. She described the "very unpleasant" journey:

We were put in cars that had no seats. We had to sit on our trunks and baggage and had no room to lie down at night.

^{4.} Mary Gogle Pay, a member of the Jones/Hunt company said, "We had orders not to pass the handcart companies. We had to keep close to them as to help them if we could." (Mary Goble Pay, "A Noble Pioneer," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. by Kate B. Carter, vol. 13 (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1970), p. 431.)

^{5.} Journal History, December 15, 1856, p. 2. LDS Church Archives. Journal History is a chronological scrapbook of Mormon Church history compiled by the LDS Church Historical Department.



General route of the Mormon and Oregon trails

Map by Eillen Skibo

Right: John Taylor

FROM HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT, History of Utab (SAN FRANCISCO: THE HISTORY COMPANY, 1890), P. 682.

Far right: Members of the Hodgett and Hunt Companies. Top row: James M. Stewart, Geroge Sinnett, Geroge May. Middle row: James E. Steele and Elizabeth Ann Player Raleigh. Bottom row: Emily Player Raleigh, Barnard white and Elizabeth White Stewart.

FROM Improvement Era 17:4 (FEBRUARY 1914), P. 296.





When we completed our journey to Iowa City we were informed that we would have to walk four miles to our camping ground. All felt delighted to have the privilege of a pleasant walk. . . . We had not gone far before it began to thunder and lightning and the rain poured. The roads became very muddy and slippery. The day was far advanced and it was late in the evening before we arrived at the camp. We all got very wet.6

nfortunately, the trying journey by train was only a harbinger of the emigration experience for the Bond family. Instead of waiting only a month as per their contract with the

Church agents, they tarried four months until their long-awaited supplies finally arrived. In the meantime, they watched almost 1,900 handcart emigrants leave the Iowa City campgrounds. If they had received their supplies according to contract stipulations, they could have easily traveled to Florence, Nebraska, departed for Utah with the first Mormon wagon company, and arrived in Salt Lake in mid-August. Eventually, the Bond family received their promised supplies, and on



July 13 an organizational meeting was held to form a wagon company to cross the plains to Salt Lake City. Welshman Dan Jones was chosen as Captain of Hundred. Through experience, the Mormons had determined that companies of about 100 wagons made for efficiency and safety in crossing the plains. John A. Hunt, age 26, and William Benjamin Hodgetts, age 24, were chosen as Captains of Fifties. Other officers chosen included eight Captains of Tens, a chaplain, a marshal, and a captain of the guard.⁷

On July 30, seven days after the organizational meeting, Captain Hodgetts decided to leave for Council Bluffs with three companies of Tens and thirty wagons in advance of the main company. Although initially organized as a single company, Hodgetts' departure split the company into two separate, independent companies. The Hodgetts Company, with fewer wagons, proceeded ahead. The company of fifty-six wagons under Captain Dan Jones was detained due to missing cattle, lost oxen, unprepared wagons, and a myriad of other problems and did not start until August 4. Mary Goble Pay, a young teenager, recalled the difficulties her family faced in preparing to leave the campground with the Jones Company: "We started to travel with our oxen unbroken, and we did not know a thing about driving oxen."8 Nor did many of the other wagon drivers, and the company moved westward with fits and starts.

After a week of travel, Captain Jones called a meeting of the company. He stated that he would be leaving the company to join a mule team. He counseled them to be more faithful in fulfilling their duties and to be more willing to do what was required of them. According to the camp journal, company members accepted this situation and resolved to respond to what might be required of them in the future. In particular, they needed the men to heed the marshal's call to guard, to watch the herd, and to be ready to

Council Bluffs Ferry and Group of Cotton-wood Trees FROM PIERCY, Route from Liverpool, P. 81.

^{6. &}quot;Autobiography of Elizabeth White Stewart," in Mary Ellen B. Workman, comp., "Ancestors of Isaac Mitton Stewart and Elizabeth White," (1978), p. [1], LDS Church Archives

^{7.} An anonymous author kept a camp journal of both the Hunt and Hodgetts companies as they traveled close together. The journal entries were transcribed, edited and entered in Journal History, December 15, 1856, pages 16-37. Unless otherwise noted, references in this paper to the camp journal refer to the transcription in Journal History. The reference to the July 13 organizational

meeting is in Journal History, December 15, 1856, p. 16.

8. Pay, "A Noble Pioneer," p. 430.

9. Camp Journal, August 11, 1856, in Journal History, December 15, 1856, pp. 18-19.

hitch up the teams each morning. At an evening meeting that same day, the company unanimously decided to have John A. Hunt succeed Dan Jones as captain of the company. Three days later, Dan Jones left the company to join the mule team. On August 13, the day prior to Jones's departure, a 21 year-old Welsh teamster died from "inflammation of the brain." He was the first casualty in the wagon companies on the trail after leaving lowa City. 10

While traveling through lowa, each company made adjustments and established a regular travel regimen. In the Hunt Company each sub-group of ten wagons alternated daily in taking the lead. Usually they halted at noon to rest for an hour. Captain Hunt

routinely helped at bridges and river crossings, sometimes assisting wagons across with an extra yoke of oxen. The company also had morning and evening orayer meetings at which company ousiness was discussed and directions and timely instruction were given. At one evening prayer meeting they voted to adopt two new company regulations. They unanimously favored a proposal to expel any man, woman, or child above the age of eight years old who disobeyed the counsel or instructions of the captain. They also voted to forfeit the gun of any nan who shot within half a mile of the camp or "was found taking out a gun for he purpose of shootings" before the evening corral was formed.¹¹

While traveling through Iowa, both wagon companies had encounters with settlers in towns near the trail. One evening, after

raveling fourteen miles and fording the Des Moines River, the Hunt Company halted for camp two miles west of Fort Des Moines. Tired from the day's trek, the Mormon travelers paid little interest to the musical procession of townspeople who visited them. The owans shortly withdrew from parading inside the corral when they realized they would not be paid for heir efforts.

As the emigrants neared the Missouri River, nembers of the companies were offered inducements by farmers and other settlers to discontinue their ourney. In some instances, former Mormons who had been dissatisfied with life in Utah tried to dissuade the emigrants from proceeding. At a meeting in Kanesville, Mormon Church leader Franklin D. Richards tried to counter the allure of these arguments. He viewed their continued travel as a test of their faith and reasoned that "as they had the faith to travel this far, they had better journey on to the end." At least three wagons in the Hunt Company pulled out and decided to stop in

Florence, Nebraska. For the emigrants who made the decision to proceed, the continuation of their journey proved to be, indeed, a hard test of faith.

At Florence they tarried a few days to stock provisions and prepare to set out across the plains. Meetings were held each day to instruct the emigrants. Mormon apostle Erastus Snow advised the emigrants "to stop for nothing, except for resting their cattle, as there was no time to waste." He also made some comments that caused some emigrants unnecessary concern and worry:

It was the desire of Brigham Young the prophet for settlements to be made all the way between here [Missouri River] and Great Salt Lake City. They would then have no need of

Mule or Ox Teems [sic], but they would be able to travel from one settlement to another with their packs upon their backs. He threw out these hints for them to think upon which caused the people to wonder if they would be called upon to settle down anywhere [along the road].¹³

The Hodgetts Company left
Florence on August 31, a few days in
advance of the Hunt Company. The
latter company set out on September 2
and crossed the Elkhorn River on
September 3. The first Mormon wagon
company of the 1856 season's emigration
that had departed from Florence had
already reached Salt Lake. Convinced by
church leaders about the seriousness of
their late departure, the companies
traveled with dispatch. Their haste may
have been responsible for numerous

accidents and injuries to men and machinery. One fouryear-old boy was run over and seriously hurt when he fell from the front seat of his wagon.

W

Franklin D. Richards

ORSON F. WHITNEY, History of Utab, VOL. 2

(SALT LAKE CITY, GEROGE Q. CANNON & SONS, 1892), P. 245

hen stocking provisions at Florence, the emigrants found very little bacon available for purchase. At Fort Kearny, the Hodgetts Company was able to load up

several wagons with bacon "for which the soldiers had no use." ¹⁴ Captain Hodgetts divided it among the wagons. In turn, company members shared their bacon rinds with the handcart emigrants, who used it for greasing the hubs of their carts. Unfortunately, the added weight in the wagons made it difficult for the teams to pull the wagons in the sand bordering the Platte River.

Occasionally friction and conflict arose between the handcart and wagon companies camping and traveling in close proximity. On two succeeding days Dan Tyler, assistant captain in the Martin Handcart

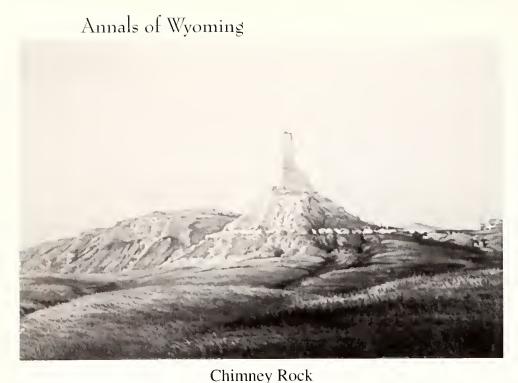
^{10.} Ibid., August 13, 1856, in Journal History, December 15, 1856, p. 19.

^{11.} Ibid., August 20, 1856, in Journal History, December 15, 1856, p. 21.

^{12.} Bond, Handcarts West, p. 12.

^{13.} Dan Jones Emigrating Company Journal, August 31, 1856, LDS Church Archives.

^{14.} Bond, Handcarts West, pp. 8, 10.



FROM FRI-DERICK PIERCY AND JAMES LINFORTH, EDS., Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley
(Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards, 1855), p. 91.

Company, voiced complaints about bothersome incidents. One morning, the handcart company was annoyed by the wagon company's cattle. On the next day, Tyler was again irritated and offended when the wagon company passed by a broken-down handcart without stopping to help repair it. In early October in the vicinity of Chimney Rock (still 580 miles from Salt Lake), the Hodgetts Company met a company of "79 apostate Mormons from Salt Lake Valley" who were on their way back to the states. They painted a bleak picture of the poverty of the people in Utah. Both the Hodgetts and Hunt wagon companies also encountered Indians and buffalo on the plains.

The two companies camped about a mile from Fort Laramie on October 8-9. At that point, about a half dozen people in the Hunt Company and a few in the Hodgetts Company had died. One of the deaths occurred during a wagon stampede just before the Hunt Company arrived at Fort Laramie.¹⁷

ated and angry with John Taylor whom she blamed for their belated departure and consequent afflictions: "He had kept us waiting four months and . . . now we were liable to perish and lose all before we could arrive

18. Bond, Handcarts West, p. 19.

15. Jesse Haven Journal, September 17-18, 1856, LDS Church Archives. For clarity, spelling has been modernized and punctuation added to excerpts from this and other unpublished journals and reminiscences

16. Camp Journal, October 2, 1856, in Journal History, December 15, 1856, p. 29; Haven Journal, October 1, 1856. James Linforth said this group of embittered Mormons was critical because they found "no work and no provisions" in Utah. (*Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, January 10, 1857. p. 28.)

17. Camp Journal, October 7, 1856, in Journal History, December 25, 1856, p. 30.

Fort Laramie

From Frederickj Piercy and James Linforth, eds., Ronte from Liverpool to Great Sale Lake Valley (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards, 1855), p. 81.

While the company was resting and getting provisions, Captain Hodgetts advised his company to lighten their wagon loads for the benefit of the cattle. The ox teams were becoming footsore, thin, and tired, and less than a month after leaving Florence, oxen and cattle were dying. At this time of year, feed and water for the oxen were scarce or poor, and many nights the cattle had to be corralled because there was simply no feed.

At the Fort Laramie meeting, Captain Hodgetts explained that the company was in a grave situation. He mentioned that the teams were weakening and had to travel more slowly because the feed was getting frostbitten and was not nearly so nourishing as it had been. The slower pace of travel meant that the emigrants would need to ration their food so that it would last longer. He asked everyone for an accounting of the remaining food supplies in the company and hoped that they would receive relief before they ran out of food. As he did not know when relief would arrive, he recommended that they apply strict measures in rationing food. He advised the parents to mete out only a small biscuit per day for each family member. At the close of this meeting, the seriousness of their plight was reflected in the emigrants' faces. John Bond recalled the look on his parents' faces: "They looked each other in the face, as much as to say they believed it would be a hard journey the rest of the way."18

Immediately, the emigrants began unloading the

weighty items from their wagons. With tears in her

eyes, Mary Ann Bond watched as her cherished No. 8

Charter Oak stove was removed from her wagon and taken with other goods to the fort. She was exasper-



safely."¹⁹ Mary Ann's aggravation is understandable because by this time all but one of the other Mormon wagon companies and all the other handcart companies of that season had already arrived in Salt Lake.

After pulling out of Fort Laramie the companies averaged about twenty miles each day. To preserve the teams, the pace of travel was slowed but the time of travel each day was extended. The nights were turning quite cool and people were using more bedding. After

each night's meager supper the hungry children begged for more. John and Mary Ann Bond were pained to hear their children's "piteous pleadings" for more food. Unfortunately, after assessing their food supplies they concluded that they would have to reduce each child's allotment to a half biscuit a day. The younger children could not understand why they were not allowed to have more food and were "continually begging for more bread."²⁰ In the Hunt Company a few families decided that it was foolhardy to proceed and returned to Fort Laramie.

The Willie Handcart Company made fair progress, and by mid-October it was more than eight days ahead of the Martin and Hodgetts companies. On October 19 the first relief party commanded by George D. Grant found the Willie Company 288 miles from Salt

Lake at the Fifth Crossing of the Sweetwater. They had left Salt Lake expecting to meet the handcart company in the vicinity of Green River, about 130 miles east of Salt Lake. The rescue party was shocked to see the condition of the emigrants. Six teams were left to assist the Willie Company to help them get to Salt Lake. Eight wagons and sixteen teamsters and horsemen then proceeded east in search of the trailing handcart and wagon companies.

On the same day that the rescue party found the Willie Company on the Sweetwater, Martin's handcart company and Hodgetts' wagon company forded the last crossing of the Platte River. Crossing the icy river was brutally difficult for the handcart people. The next day matters took a decided turn for the worse. On awakening they discovered that they were covered with a light dusting of snow. By the time the companies had hitched up their teams, the snow began falling again. As there was no shelter or feed at their camp, the Hodgetts Company had no choice but to move forward. Fortunately for them, Assistant Captain Nathan Tanner Porter, who was on his fourth trip across the plains, remembered a suitable place a few miles up river where he had camped four years previ-



Nathan Tanner Porter
From Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah,
vol. 3 (Salt Lake City: George Q Cannon &
Sons, 1892), p. 649.

ously.²¹ The Hodgetts Company took shelter there, but the Hunt Company remained mired in camp on the other side of the river. Eight inches of snow prevented them from making the river crossing until October 22. After this snow storm they were forced to cut down cottonwood trees to feed the cattle and willow trees to feed the oxen.

The weather stayed cold and snowstorms continued to assail them for a week. Each morning the men

had to shovel snow to make a track to encourage the cattle to get moving.²² Cattle, oxen, and wagon company members steadily weakened. Food provisions, especially flour, were steadily dwindling. Some families mixed melted snow water with their flour which made it "like thin gruel."²³

Days passed without word of relief. Yet, to fortify their flagging hopes, the companies gathered daily at the sound of the bugle for their prayer meetings. Young John Bond usually attended these prayer meetings with his family, but he was tempted to lag behind once when he saw a woman leave her dinner untended to go to the meeting.

I saw sister Scott cooking a nice pot of dumplings just before the bugle sounded. She hid the dumplings under the wagon, being a zealous woman, and went to prayer meeting, but I did not go this time. I stood

back and looked for the dumplings, found them and being so hungry I could not resist the temptations, sat down and ate them all. I admit that those dumplings did me more good than all the prayers that could have been offered.²⁴

n October 28 an advance party of three men brought welcome news to the Martin handcart and Hodgetts wagon companies that a rescue effort had been mounted and was pushing ahead

with all due speed to bring the emigrants in.²⁵ The rescue party was at Red Bluffs, about 65 miles east of Devil's Gate. After a very brief halt, these three men hurried on at full gallop to bring word of the oncoming relief to the Hunt Company, which was encamped fifteen miles behind on the Platte River. Daniel W. Jones describes their reception upon reaching the Hunt Company encampment:

On arriving no one noticed us or appeared to care who we were. Their tents were pitched in good shape, wood was plentiful, and no one seemed concerned. Joseph A. Young

^{21.} Nathan Tanner Porter, "Reminiscences," pp. 227-28, LDS Church Archives.

^{22.} Pay, "A Noble Pioneer," p. 431.

^{23.} Ibid., p. 432.

^{24.} Bond, Handcarts West, p. 23.

^{25.} The advance relief party of three men included Daniel W. Jones, Abel Garr, and Joseph A. Young. The latter was Brigham Young's eldest son. (Stella Jaques Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques* (1978), p. 148.)

^{19.} lbid., p. 20. 20. lbid., p. 22.



Handcarts In A Storm

FROM T.B. H. STENHOUSE, The Rocky Mountain Saints (SALT LAKE CITY: SHEPARD BOOK CO., 1904), P. 310.

became offended, not expecting such a cool reception and remarked, "Well, it appears we are not needed here." So we went down into the bottom and made camp for ourselves.²⁶

After awhile someone from the wagon company sauntered down to take a look at who was making camp near them. Everyone had supposed that it was a small group of mountaineers, not an advance relief party from Salt Lake. Apparently the Hunt encampment was located in a place near several camps of old traders, and the passing of small groups of strangers was not uncommon during their stay there. However, when they recognized these Mormon men, word spread quickly throughout the camp. Jones recalled that "Soon we were literally carried in and a special tent was pitched for our use." There was general rejoicing in the camp. Jones noted: "These people were just on the eve of suffering, but as yet had not. Quite a number of their cattle had died during the snow storm which had been on them for nine days."27

ith relief on the way, the wagon and handcart companies were urged to leave their camps and push ahead. After having sat in camp for more than a week, some of the emigrants in the Hunt Company were less than enthusiastic about going to meet the relief wagons. Dan Jones noted that a state of lethargy permeated the company:

There was a spirit of apathy among the people. Instead of going for their teams at once, several began to quarrel

26. Daniel W. Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890), p. 67.

27. lbid., p. 67.

about who should go. This made us feel like leaving them to take care of themselves.28

They mounted their mules in disgust and threatened to leave, but this action spurred the apathetic complainers to start to move. They pushed ahead sluggishly under pathetic road conditions, the path alternately muddy and snowpacked from intermittent winter storms. Daily travel mileage was drastically reduced. On November 2 the Hodgetts Company arrived at Devil's Gate where they found the Martin Handcart Company encamped. Members of the Hodgetts Company commandeered some of the log cabins at the old trading post there. On November 5 the Hunt Company arrived at Devil's Gate. Weather conditions were bitter. The temperature hovered between six

and eleven degrees below zero. Mary Ann Bond tried to take some of the chill off the inside of their wagon at bedtime by hanging a bake oven filled with hot wood coals from the wagon bows.²⁹ Dan Jones recounted other dire circumstances:

The winter storms had now set in, in all their severity. The provisions we took amounted to almost nothing among so many people, many of them now on very short rations, some almost starving. Many were dying daily from exposure and want of food. We were at a loss to know why others had not come on to our assistance. . . . Each evening the Elders would meet in council. . . . Cattle and horses were dying every day. What to do was all that could be talked about.30

Elizabeth White Stewart, traveling in the Hunt Company, also described their awful plight:

Our two yoke of oxen and one cow had died. . . . We had nothing to burn only the wet sage brush from under the snow, and melt the snow off the sage for our water to make our tea and make our bread with soda and sage water, what little we had. The snow was then from three to ten inches deep. The ground was frozen so hard they could not drive the tent pins, so they had to raise the tent poles and stretch out the flaps and bank them down with snow.31

The company decided to lighten the wagons and leave their goods with a detail of men to guard them until spring when they could be retrieved. Three days were spent unloading the excess goods from the wagons into the old cabins at Devil's Gate. Dan Jones noted: "Leaving these goods meant to abandon all that

^{28.} Ibid., p. 68.

^{29.} Bond, Handcarts West, p. 34.

^{30.} Jones, *Forty Years*, pp. 69-70. 31. "Autobiography of Elizabeth White Stewart," p. [2].

nany poor families had upon the earth."32 Most of the arts from the handcart company were also left here. Bick and feeble handcart emigrants were loaded into some of the emptied wagons so that all could "move on is speedily as possible."33 Seventeen men from the **Hunt and Hodgetts companies were detailed with three** nen from the rescue company to remain guard over the inloaded property.³⁴ On November 9 the handcart and vagon companies pulled out. Salt Lake City remained nore than 320 miles distant. Dan Jones, one of the wenty left to spend the winter at Devil's Gate, folowed the companies for a few miles. He found a lady rom Hunt's company in abject misery sitting beside the oad and weeping bitterly. She said it was all too hard or her and she was determined to just sit there and die. He urged her to come ahead with him. With his encouragement she rejoined the wagon company.³⁵

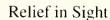
On November 9, the same date that the last and cart and wagon companies left Devil's Gate, the Villie Handcart Company arrived in Salt Lake City. After Brigham Young received reports of the severity of he disaster, he called for increased donations of upplies, volunteer teamsters, and wagons from outlying settlements throughout northern Utah. Alhough no complete accounting record remains, well over 200 wagons were deployed in the effort to rescue he handcart and wagon companies. Being more than week ahead of the other companies, the Willie Handcart Company was the first group that the relief

wagons met on the trail. By November 2, less than two weeks after the Willie Company's first encounter with the vanguard of the relief wagons, all of the members of their company had been loaded into wagons and speedily transported to Salt Lake.

On November 19 the Martin Handcart Company was about 80 miles in front of the trailing wagon companies when the latter crossed South Pass, 231 miles from Salt Lake. In an unfortunate mishap due to poor communication, assistance to these companies from backup teams was delayed.³⁷ However, by the time the Martin Handcart Company reached South Pass there were enough wagons for the people to ride in so that no one had to walk or push a cart. Thereafter, the Martin Company was able to travel at a rate of 25 to 30 miles a day.

Daily progress for the trail-weary teams in the Hunt and Hodgetts wagon companies was much less. Drifted snow on the hillsides forced them to double the teams on the wagon. Progress was further slowed by their cattle which mixed with other herds and during the night were scattered across the area in search of scant feed. Subsequently, in the mornings, many cattle were simply left on the road.³⁸ With the temperature again falling below zero, cattle simply stopped moving. On a bitterly cold morning Jesse Haven noted: "Thermometer 3 degrees below zero. My cow got down this morning. Not able to get up. Had to leave her."³⁹

After crossing South Pass the Hunt Company divided into several smaller groups to accelerate their



FROM Ann Eliza Webb Young, Wife No. 19, or the Story of a Life in Bondage (Hartford, Conn.: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1875), p. 215.



RELIEF IN SIGHT.

^{32.} Jones, Forty Years, p. 71.

^{33.} Porter, "Reminiscences," p. 232.

^{34.} For a vivid account of the experiences of this guard detail at Devil's Gate uring the winter of 1856-57, see Jones, Forty Years, pp. 72-114.

^{35.} lbid., p. 73. 36. Journal History, November 2, 1856, p. 1.

^{37.} A good account of the delayed backup teams is found in Cornwall and Arrington, *Rescue of the 1856 Handcart Companies*, pp. 31-37.

^{38.} Haven Journal, November 19, 1856.

^{39.} Ibid., November 21, 1856.



Fort Bridger

FROM FREDERICK PIERCY AND JAMES LINFORTH, FDS., Ronte from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards, 1855), p. 98.

pace. Now rescue efforts were being directed to assist the belated wagon companies. On November 21 horse teams arrived in the Hunt camp and took about ten emigrants to their waiting wagons. The next day fresh ox teams sent from Fort Bridger arrived to help bring the wagons on ahead.⁴⁰ On November 26 the companies began arriving at Green River where there was a small trading post. As the feed was good there they rested their teams for a day or two. The trailing last wagons in the Hunt Company left the trading post on November 30. On that day the Martin Handcart Company arrived in Salt Lake City, but the wagon companies still had 170 miles to go to reach the Mormon capital. On December 2 under Brigham Young's direction, sixty horse and mule teams left Salt Lake City with a supply of provisions and feed to take to the wagon companies.⁴¹ On December 4 the companies reached Fort Bridger where it was reported they were "quite comfortably situated and in the enjoyment of an increased degree of health and buoyancy of feelings."42

This news report was decidedly optimistic. Provisions were still scarce and what was available was expensive. Loads were again lightened and arrangements made to leave wagons, oxen, and cattle. Brigham Young sent word for the companies to halt at Fort Bridger and wait for the relief wagons. Anxious to get to the Salt Lake Valley, Jesse Haven ignored counsel and set out from the fort. 44 A few miles out on

the trail Haven's group was intercepted by a messenger from Salt Lake who informed them that wagons were en route to bring them all in. Haven decided to return to the fort to await rescue. He and others in the wagon companies left everything at the fort, opting to travel to Salt Lake Valley in the faster-paced horse wagons. The rescue wagons began arriving at the fort on December 7.

wo days later the first wagons began the

return trip loaded with emigrants. Snow storms buffeted them every day on the last leg of the journey to the valley, on some days never letting up. In Echo Canyon the snow was eighteen inches deep on the flat. The climb up and over Big Mountain was a nightmare. Jesse Haven briefly described the conditions on the mountain: "Crossed the big mountain. Snow deep on the top of it. Wind blowing so that in five minutes our track would all be filled up."45 One emigrant noted that they encountered a formidable amount of snow on the summit. He estimated that it was eighteen feet deep and said: "It took about 60 of us to dig our way thru [sic] it occupying about two hours time to do it."46 Although this emigrant's estimate of snow depth is almost unbelievable, a brief notice in the Deseret News reported: "Snow is deeper in this valley than at any former period since it was settled."47 Mary Susannah Higgs, who traveled with her family in the Hodgetts Company when she was eight-years old, recalled that it was so slick coming down Big Mountain that the oxen could do nothing but slide down. They safely reached the bottom, but while

^{40.} Camp Journal, November 21-22, 1856, in Journal History, December 25, 1856, p. 36.

^{41.} Deseret News, December 3, 1856, p. 309.

^{42.} Ibid., December 10, 1856, p. 317.

^{43.} Flour, which cost \$4.50 per hundred pounds at Florence, cost \$13 at Fort Bridger. (Dan Jones Emigrating Company Journal, August 28, 1856; Haven Journal, December 5, 1856.)

^{44.} Henry Hamilton Journal, December 8, 1856, LDS Church Archives.

^{45.} Haven Journal, December 14, 1856.

^{46.} James Sherlock Cantwell, "Reminiscence," p. 3, LDS Church Archives.

^{47.} Deseret News, December 17, 1856, p. 325.

trying to reach the summit of Little Mountain their wagon overturned. Mary sat on a quilt in the snow while they turned the wagon right side up again. 48 The snow depth on the top of Little Mountain was also considerable. Henry Hamilton, who had to wear clothes on his feet for want of shoes, noted that the snow on the top of Little Mountain was a foot-and-ahalf above his head.49 On December 15 the Hunt and Hodgetts wagon companies finally arrived in Salt Lake City. Jesse Haven recorded that he shed tears of joy when he got his first glimpse of it from the mouth of Emigration Canyon. He gave full credit to Brigham Young for "doing what he could in geting [sic] the prethren to start after us." In his opinion the concerted escue effort mounted by President Young had saved heir lives.⁵⁰

The Willie and Martin handcart companies suffered five times as many fatalities as the Donner Party. Although deaths in the Hunt and Hodgetts wagon companies did not begin to approach the asualties suffered by the handcart companies, they were considerable and occurred with some frequency ill the way to the Salt Lake Valley. Even though the Hunt Company clerk did not consistently keep an iccount of daily events in the latter part of the journey, it least seventeen deaths were recorded in the camp ournal. One of the deaths not recorded in the camp ournal, happened on the final day of the journey. After ourying three of her children on the trail, Mary Goble, uffering a lingering illness which lasted more than two nonths, died between Big and Little Mountain. It was is if she sustained the will to live almost until the very lay that her wagon pulled into the Great Salt Lake Valley. Her thirteen-year-old daughter Mary, accompalying her in the wagon, wrote: "We arrived in Salt Lake City at nine o'clock at night. . . . My mother was dead in he wagon." The next day, young Mary had to have her rozen toes amputated. The doctor used a saw and a outcher knife. Mary described the sorrowful scene: The [women] were dressing mother for her grave. My poor ther walked into the room where mother was then back to is. He could not shed a tear. When my feet were fixed they arried us in to see our mother for the last time. That fternoon she was buried.51

Mary C. Johnson, a seven-year-old orphan in the Hunt Company, suffered severe frostbite. It was necesary to amputate first her feet above the ankles and then her legs below the knees in order to save her life. Following the death of her parents on the Missouri River at Garden Grove she was placed in the care of an elderly ouple from England who were in the Hunt Company. These guardians were careless, unfeeling, and stern. Even hough her feet hurt terribly they made her walk most of he time. It was reported in a newspaper reminiscence:

"She couldn't go fast enough to suit the old man so he would take a whip to her ."⁵² Mary was too afraid to complain about their cruel and careless treatment, and once when allowed to ride in a wagon she fell asleep with her feet uncovered. She recalled fifty years later that, after arriving at Devil's Gate:

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y feet were found to be frozen very badly.
While there they were thawed out and turned black. The rest of the way I was taken care of by kind friends; all was done that was possible

under the circumstances but my feet both dropped off before we got to the city... My legs were amputated above the ankles and then at the knees. My two brothers had reached Salt Lake City in November. How well do I remember our meeting. I told them not to cry so for I would have my feet again when I got to heaven.⁵³

The survivors of the ill-fated, late season emigration of the Hunt and Hodgetts wagon companies were scarred physically and emotionally by their dreadful experience. Jesse Haven, who had been a Mormon for nineteen years, witnessed that he "saw more suffering...than I ever saw before among the Saints." He noted that he had been in Missouri in 1838 when Governor Lilburn W. Boggs issued an order to exterminate or expel all the Mormons. He attested: "I was in Missouri when the Church was driven from there and I believe what the Saints suffered there... was nothing more than a drop to [sic] a bucket compared to what those Saints [in the late-arriving 1856 handcart and wagon companies] suffered."54

In the annals of Mormon Trail history the travails of the 1856 handcart and wagon companies are atypical. Nonetheless, the saga of the handcart disaster is extraordinary and the story of the two forgotten trailing wagon trains is sufficiently compelling to warrant a detailed narration.

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This article was designed by Melinda Brazzale.

^{52.} Spanish Fork Press, September 14, 1924, p. 4.

^{53.} Mary C. Johnson Parsons, "A Handcart Survivor," Descret Evening News, June 29, 1897, p. 8. Mary lived to be 61 years old. She married and was the mother of seven children. She underwent several additional operations but walked on her knees for more than fifty years. The elderly couple in the Hunt company who were her guardians soon left the Church and returned East.

^{54.} Haven Journal, December 15, 1856.

^{48.} Salt Lake Telegram, February 5, 1949, p. 9.

^{49.} Hamilton Journal, December 14, 1856.

^{50.} Haven Journal, December 15, 1856.

^{51.} Pay, "A Noble Pioneer," p. 432.

Book Reviews

Some Significant Recent Books in Western and Wyoming History

When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West.

By Peter Iverson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994. Illus., Notes, Bib., Index. 280 pp. Cloth. \$24.95

The main focus of this interesting study by Peter Iverson is Native American participation in the cattle ranching industry in the American West. Rural life in the West involved migration, change, and the creation of cultural homelands, the author argues, and ranching provided an economic structure upon which a community could be bared. The Native American ranching community emerged as a cultural homeland in the West unlike any other, and Indian ranchers themselves gained a status that made them enduring community leaders among many western tribes. After a two-chapter introduction on the impact of Europe on American Indian societies, the monograph examines the diffusion of the cattle industry in the Northern Plains, Oklahoma, and the southwest from the early years of contact to the Indian New Deal of the 1930s. Three concluding chapters bring the study up to the present and demonstrate the central role of ranching and cattle culture in Indians' lives.

When Indians Became Cowboys insists that Indians played a central role in the expansion of the western cattle industry after 1865, the Golden Age of cattle ranching. The force of events, such as allotment, leasing of tribal bands to non-Native ranchers, the Lone Wolf decision (1903), and marriage between Indian women and white ranchers, paints a picture of Anglo-American encroachment as inevitable. Iverson suggests that Indian adaptation and elaboration of ranching methods did not change Euroamerican perceptions of Indians because Native American ranchers were never identified as cowboys.

Written for the popular audience and undergraduate history students, the study presents ranch-based Indian com-

munities as unique. Iverson vividly shows the special nature of Indian ranching in his comprehensive discussions of cattle ownership policies and practices, rodeos' importance to Native communities, and tribal membership debates. Ranching culture, according to Iverson, "started to influence attire and the play of children, it offered action, it provided a kind of role model not only that one would want to aspire to but one that could be achieved" (p. 130). This cattle culture parallels Vicki Ruiz's cannery culture, except that men are at the center. Professor Iverson asserts that the post-World War II era saw the development of a similarities between Indian and white ranchers as the industry declined. Like white ranchers, Indians created cattle associations, which encouraged the emergence of leaders and allowed many more people to remain on reservations. Tribal ranching also benefited from the research developments of the United states Department of Agriculture and various university agricultural programs. Despite evidence of crosscultural borrowing, many Indians and whites failed to realize their overlapping interests, particularly as the competition for finite resources increased. For example, white stock growers in South Dakota sued Oglalas at the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1956 for increasing grazing fees.

Having adopted and elaborated ranching methods for their own communities, Indian ranchers nevertheless experienced the same marginalization at the hands of the modernizing urban world that other ranchers have encountered. Iverson thus reveals the dilemma of ranching life as a source of social ties and boundaries and as an antiquated economic function entirely separated from modern, mainstream society. Iverson concludes this remarkably thoughtful work by holding up the social and cultural aspects of ranching life as being worthy of incorporation into late twentieth-century, mainstream society.

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Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker

Edited by Margaret Connell Szasz. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994. Illus., Notes, Bib., Index. xii and 386 pp. Cloth. \$45.00

Cultural brokers are individuals who acted as mediators between Native American and Euroamerican cultures. Over the centuries, thousands of these "cultural translators" used their familiarity with two disparate cultures to build bridges. Some gained power, wealth, and personal satisfaction, while others found the role difficult to maintain when they were not accepted as full members of either groups. In Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker, Margaret Connell Szasz brings together essays by fourteen scholars who offer new insights into the role of these individuals.

The authors examine the variety of individuals who used their skills in moving between two worlds. Such people clarified diplomatic misunderstandings, softened potential conflicts, and stressed the common human spirit from 1690 to the present. The essays describe the benefits, problems, and complexities associated with individual lives, but each author approaches the overall topic from a different viewpoint. Some detail the activities of one individual, while others deal with cultural brokers as groups.

Native American intermediaries could assume formal and informal duties. Employing linguistic skills, they acted as official translators and used their familiarity with elaborate protocol and ritual to smooth diplomatic contacts. Others operated on an unofficial level, working to help their people face the challenge of life in a White-dominated world while maintaining as much of their cultural heritage as possible. Still others, epitomized by D'Arcy McNickle, who served as a broker between Indian cultures, sought to preserve Indian cultural heritage by focusing not on a single tribe but on the "Indianness" which unites all Native Americans. Cultural brokers came from the White culture as well. A few White ministers preached the gospel in Native American languages, related the Christian message in terms of Native American cultural experiences, and argued that it was not necessary to commit cultural suicide when one embraced Christianity. Other Whites worked to enrich and maintain the Native American cultures. Robert Young aided in the creation of an alphabet by which the Navajo language could be written, and Dorothy Dunn encouraged the continuation of Indian crafts and arts. There were also Whites, like Helen Hunt Jackson, who drew public attention to the plight of the Native Americans.

Szasz has done an admirable job in collecting monographs which explore the ways cultural brokers mediated between the Native American and Euroamerican cultures and has included an extensive bibliography which will be a valuable asset to those whose interest is piqued by the essays.

The lives illuminated in this book illustrate both the rewards and the hazards awaiting those who straddled cultural borders.

Bobbalee Schuler-Hughes Hay Springs, Nebraska

The Story of the Mine, As Illustrated by the Great Comstock Lode of Nevada.

By Charles Shinn. Reno: University of Nevada Press, Press Vintage Series, 1980; orginally published in 1896. Illus., index. 377 pp. \$12.95

While literature abounds concerning the history of the great Comstock Lode of Nevada, Charles Shinn's history stands apart for several reasons. First, he wrote from the viewpoint of a contemporary in 1896. Although history would confirm that the bonanza days of the Comstock were over, Shinn believed that the Comstock would rise again to a position of mining prominence. He felt a close affinity to the prospectors and miners who had found and first developed the Comstock lode, and thus he shared the miners' eternal optimism that was essential to the pursuit of precious minerals. After all, riches of the Comstock had been gained only through their unshakable faith in finding the "Mother Lode" and their willingness to persevere against seemingly insurmountable odds.

Beyond being an astute contemporary observer, Shinn was also well versed in the technology of nineteenth century hard-rock mining. His book provides a wealth of information about the techniques used to reach and remove the ore from the ground. However, instead of burying the lay reader in an avalanche of technical jargon and discourse, Shinn presented a focused discussion about underground mining and milling techniques in a readable and understandable format. He omitted or summarized technical aspects that were not fundamental to the telling of the history of the Comstock, but at the same time, he did not neglect the significant technological inventions which were devised to solve engineering problems peculiar to the Comstock and which were later used throughout the mining industry, such as square-set timbering, certain milling processes, powerful water pumps, water pipelines, and siphons. He also gives interesting tips about the clever assay techniques used by the early prospectors to test promising ores and detect the presence of gold and silver, such as "horning a prospect" and the use of traditional Spanish milling techniques, such as the arrastra to grind and extract the precious metals from the ore.

At the same time, Shinn did not spare the early prospectors for their inexplicable "ignorance" in not tracing the loose placer gold and silver to their source. It took nearly a decade of inefficient placer mining in the 1850s to finally trace and discover the rich Comstock lode. Additionally, in

51

their search for gold, the early prospectors routinely threw away masses of "blue stuff" that later proved to be rich silver deposits. The author described the "bonanza and borrasca" cycle of the Comstock lode that was characteristic of every mining district in the West. For the continued economic prosperity of the Comstock community, like its counterparts, was solely dependent on the size and richness of the mineral deposits of the Comstock lode. Stock manipulations, speculation, and over-optimism could temporarily prop up the district during economic and engineering downturns and even after the mines were exhausted, but in the end the "boom and bust" cycle of a mining camp is inevitable.

The colorful and often tragic pioneer figures of the Comstock were described by Shinn from "Old Virginia" Fennimore (Finney) to "Old Pancake" Henry T. P. Comstock. Shinn was perhaps at his best in describing the individuals who made up the Comstock mining community. Although the prospector, miner, and mill operator were the central figures, an operation of such magnitude as the Comstock district required a wide array of auxiliary laborers, including road builders, freighters, stage drivers, and lumbermen. The reader is taken on a trip to the "City Underground" to observe the miners in their element within the underground labyrinth of shafts, tunnels, drifts, cross-cuts, cross-drifts, and winzes that make up their world. As the underground workings probed to greater depths, heat became the chief enemy to the Comstock miners. The intense heat, steaming ground water, and foul air could quickly drain the miners of energy and reduce them to "half-dead" men who "lost their wits, raved, sang, and talked like lunatics" (p. 229). Shinn related that from 1863 to 1880, the Virginia City newspapers reported three hundred fatalities and twelve hundred severe accidents in the Comstock mines. The conditions peculiar to such a "dreary and exhausting employment" made the Comstock miners "a people with vast capacities for love, hate, sarcasm, laughter, for terrible wrath, and for sublime self-sacrifice. The vast fortunes made and lost in mining stocks and the fluctuations in real values of the mines themselves, insensibly warped the judgment and made the whole community restless, eager, ever anxious for sudden gains" (p. 243).

For readers without a working knowledge of the geography of the region, the text would be better served by a map of the Comstock mining district in relation to Nevada and other important mining districts in the western United States. A more detailed map of the important claims and mining camps would also augment the text in visualizing the physical layout of the district.

Finally, the reader will be fascinated by Shinn's writing style, filled with classical allusions to Greek and Roman mythology, Shakespeare, and the Bible. He also enriched his narrative with folklore tales told by contemporary miners, freighters, and other members of the Comstock community. His writing style contrasts markedly from that of some of today's historians with their narrow scholarly background and inferior writing skills. But it serves as just

the right vehicle for telling the story of a bygone era when the West and American society were more youthful, innocent, and vibrant.

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Ogallala: Water for a Dry Land

By John Opie. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993. Illus., Notes, Index. xxii and 412 pp. Cloth. \$35.00

In this challenging approach to writing a history of a water aquifer, John Opie constructs the history of an entire region. Based on the premise that the area's history is locked up in the elusive dream that sustainable agriculture was possible by drawing from natural sources, Opie points out how private efforts, federal policies, and locally inspired proposals all try to deal with the aridity of the plains. Eventually, realities set in, and such efforts can not succeed. The seemingly inexhaustible supply of water from deep within the Ogallala aquifer has its limits. When it comes to water allocation, man has been unable to outsmart nature.

As Opie notes, economic and agricultural policy provided a crucial incentive for farmers to become heavily reliant on what was not a renewable water source. The result was an artificially conceived economic base that was bound for regular booms and busts with little hope for a long-term future.

Opie begins with a broad description of the geological history of the Ogallala aquifer, the most significant source of water in the Great Plains. Although it stretches north into South Dakota and south into central Texas, Opie's study is confined to a narrower area of western Kansas, Oklahoma and the Texas panhandle. As he indicates, however, the issues remain the same above other regions covering the aquifer.

Turning to initial settlement in the area, Opie demonstrates that early attempts to provide dependable water sources made agriculture possible initially. As technology advanced, agricultural science applied new systems for pumping water from deep beneath the ground in cost effective ways. As Opie contends by the end of the book, however, the days of easy-to-reach water are fast approaching and the costs of drawing water from the Ogallala formation eventually will make agriculture either adapt to new methods requiring less water or disappear altogether. The most important lesson in the book is that "The High Plains environment was and is easily harmed" (p.311). The biggest harm comes from imprudent use of water resources.

Through intensive research that goes beyond that of most historians, Opie makes a persuasive case. In terms of methodology, the work may prove to be a model for future environmental histories in which geology, economics, and scientific agricultural methods tell the history of a region

scientific agricultural methods tell the history of a region more clearly and poignantly than simple reliance on the human story.

In some respects, the Ogallala story is unique. As Opie notes, "Pumping the Ogallala is still a one-time experiment, unrepeatable and irreversible" (p. 286). Nonetheless, the tale is instructive about how humans continue the struggle to overcome nature. The results are rarely intended or their causes well understood. For those who remained unconvinced of man's limitations, the Ogallala case is both an example and a warning. Opie says it well in this important book, a must-read for those interested in environmental history as well as the history of the Great Plains.

Phil Roberts Assistant Professor of History University of Wyoming

The Adventures of Moccasin Joe: True Life Story of George S. Howard

Edited by Susan C. Reneau. Missoula: Blue Mountain Publishing Co., 1994. Illus., Bib., Index. xvi and 205 pp. Paper. \$19.95

This book tells the true story of a man who began his military career as an eleven year old drummer boy in the Union Army during the Civil War and later, in 1872, enlisted in the Second Cavalry Regiment of the Regular Army. He saw five years of military service, four of them during the Sioux Indian wars. Though narrowly missing participation in the Battle of the Little Bighorn, Howard did fight in the battles of Powder River, the Rosebud, and Slim Buttes. Of special interest to this reviewer, who was involved in the National Park Service restoration of Fort Laramie in east central Wyoming, were Howard's insights about his scouting duty at Ft. Laramie where every patrol risked encounters with Indians. Howard survived all these military encounters, but later, as a 36 year old civilian, he was killed under obscure circumstances by a railroad guard.

Reneau fortuitously discovered Howard's writings in the possession of his 90-year old daughter. They are in three distinct parts: "Scenes, Insights and Sketches of Life in the Far West," consisting of both diary and narratives; over fifty pages of intriguing poems, apparently composed while campaigning; and newspaper clippings from the turn of the century. All of these writings are digested in analytical chapters by Reneau who spent several years in tracking down the diary, haunting the National Archives, Library of Congress, and other repositories, and making extended field trips to forts and battlefield sites.

The original diary is a/hard-cover ledger book belonging to "Moccasin Joe" (this pseudonym was Howard's own invention). It was with him on his campaigns and was sometimes used as a pillow. Besides hardships and combat, al-

most everything is recorded in this ledger, including a list of 121 lady friends with whom this extraordinary man was involved (in sequence, we assume, rather than collectively). It also records that Howard had a friendly acquaintance with Sitting Bull and other notable Indians.

This book is a rare testimony by an enlisted man in the Indian wars. Most personal military accounts are autobiographies of Army officers. Because of the brilliant incisive way in which Howard's material has been handled by Reneau, this reviewer believes that this book should be a prime candidate for a literary award.

Merrill J. Mattes National Park Service, retired historian

Ed. Note: We were saddened to learn of the death of Mr. Mattes in the summer of 1996. A salute and remembrance of his distinguished career and contributions to Western history will be printed in a forthcoming issue.

Camping Out in the Yellowstone, 1882

By Mary Bradshaw Richards, Edited by William W. Slaughter. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994. Illus., Notes. xxxii and 108 pp. Paper. \$10.95

Camping Out in the Yellowstone, 1882 is a reprint of the 1910 edition of Mary Richards' Yellowstone articles which were first printed in the Salem [Massachusetts] Observer. While hundreds of memoirs about our first National Park exist, this one deserves closer examination. Her daily entries are well written, very informative, and highly entertaining. The new introduction and notes by William W. Slaughter are invaluable.

When Mary Bradshaw Richards visited Yellowstone National Park in 1882, the area was still very much a wilderness. Travel was by horseback, and visitors camped out in tents, supplementing food stores by fishing and hunting. The few roads in the Park were often muddy tracks covered with tree stumps and boulders. There were buildings and outposts of civilization, but they were crude at best and most served the needs of the soldiers stationed in the Park. The hotels, restaurants, gift shops, and rest areas that the modern visitor take for granted were not to be found in 1882. Many dangers faced the visitor to the Park during these early years, and while Indians were no longer a worry, outlaws, animals, injury, and sickness could all cause delays, bodily harm, and even death. Everything needed by travelers had to be brought with them.

Travel into the Park in 1882 required extensive preparation and a long list of supplies. Richards describes in detail their 'outfit,' or stores required for her and her husband on their two week journey. From the wall tent and blankets, hardware and cooking supplies, driver, cook, and wagon,

this outfit, costing eighteen dollars a day, would provide them with everything they needed. Throughout the book, Richards portrays camp life in detail, giving us a glimpse into a mode of travel foreign to the majority of late twentieth century Park visitors. Her descriptions about the attractions of the Park are no less informative, with each site visited by the party minutely described and so well written that the sites, sounds, and smells of Yellowstone can be experienced by the reader.

William Slaughter's introduction and explanatory notes provide the historical context for Richards' account. Not only does he give a succinct history of the Park before 1882 but he fleshes out Mary Bradshaw Richards, making her a person, not just a tourist or author. His notes fill-in gaps in Richards's narrative and give fuller information about some of the sites described in the book. Slaughter's work serves well as an introduction to the history of Yellowstone for those who do not want to tackle the larger standard works by Aubrey Haines and Richard Bartlett. Likewise, *Camping Out in the Yellowstone*, 1882 is a much more enjoyable and readable memoir than many of the more commercially minded memoirs published before 1900. Slaughter and the University of Utah Press should be commended for bringing this long out of print work back into circulation.

Christina Stopka Librarian/Archivist Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody

The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays

By Davis Bitton. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. xii and 194 pp. Cloth, \$25.95

Dr. Davis Bitton has written a very interesting book consisting of nine essays dealing with a variety of topics about Mormon History. His choice of issues and how he elects to present them make this book both informative and entertaining. He uses his firsthand familiarity with primary sources effectively in presenting his "accounts" of life and living among these "peculiar" people.

His introduction includes a general but brief overview of Mormon history that will permit the general reader to place his essays in proper historical context. He also provides a concise synopsis of each article and includes his own reasons for writing it.

His first essay, "Clearly Mormon Life Styles: or Saints as Human Beings," discusses everything about their ordinary lives, including patterns of settlement, materials for building homes, mobility, clothing, foods, and attitudes toward medicine, temple building, the coming of the "last days," the final judgment, and the coming of the Millennium. His quotations are delightful.

In "Polygamy Defended: One Side of the Nineteenth-Century Polemic," the author reviews Mormon arguments

ranging from a proper outlet for man's natural inclinations to God's holy commandment. Opponents, on the other hand, saw moral decay and sin. Readers will see the paranoia on each side of the debate.

The third article, "Zion's Rowdies: Growing up on the Mormon Frontier," presents the various images of Mormon children as seen from within and outside of the community, ranging from "dirty and depraved" to "highly attractive." Delinquency among the Mormon youth was also a serious issue. And while Mormon pedagogy for children was similar to national attitudes, the Mormon reactions became institutional programs and policies for solutions by the late 1860s and 1870s.

Next, Bitton discusses "Bard of Utah's Dixie: Charles Lowell Walker and His Verse." Walker's extensive writings cover a good deal of Mormon history, with particular emphasis on Utah's Dixie, where he finally settled. He was called upon frequently to write a poem or song for special occasions.

In article five, readers get a good picture of "Mormonism's Encounter with Spiritualism." Bitton includes comments about spiritualism from church leaders and from people directly involved with the movement in Utah during the 1860s and later, such as the liberal "Godbeites." It seemed to be the "revelatory" dimension to both Mormonism and spiritualism that attracted many Mormons, including Mormon Apostle Amasa M. Lyman.

"These Licentious Days: Dancing Among the Mormons" is a delightful account that traces dancing attitudes and practices from dancing in the Nauvoo Temple to 20th century accommodation. Waltzing was not opposed after about 1913, for example. Pioneers danced on their treks west. But when dancing occurred outside Church-owned facilities and without official sponsorship and began to include round dancing and waltzing, it presented a significant problem for the older folks. Bitton comments that leaders' resistance to change is understandable, but that "the exact details and the precise rules to follow will vary with the shifting circumstances" (p. 113).

"Tithe Ordeal of Brigham Young, Jr." provides a brief but excellent biographical sketch of Prophet Young's name sake and son. The author traces "Briggie's" life from birth (1832) through Nauvoo to Zion, where he was for a time one of "Zion's Rowdies." He would, however, mature into a faithful follower, a missionary to Europe, Apostle, counselor and companion to his father, and business advisor. Still, he would always see himself in his illustrious father's shadow. He became very conservative in his outlook and was slow to accept the changes that Mormonism had to make to enter the twentieth century. He died in 1903.

The author's account of "Tithe Exclusion of B. H. Roberts from Congress" gives readers excellent insights into the man and the issues--his campaign, the election (1898), the opposition, the debate, and his rejection because he was a polygamist. Yet, Roberts retained his sense of humor in accepting the inevitable. Bitton concludes that Roberts had tried the impossible.

Finally, in "The Ritualization of Mormon History," the author details how dates, events, and personalities became the focal points for celebrating Mormon history in song, pageants and ceremonies, and through monuments and statuary. While the author recognizes that such "history" is a distortion of actual history, he postulates: "Ritualized history is not satisfactory for all purposes. By definition it is simplified. . . . But the fact is that most people are not historians--which is to say that most of us will possess our history ritualistically or not possess it at all" (p. 183).

While Bitton may be challenged on a few of his "explanations" or even "apology" for some Mormon Church leaders' attitudes and actions, what he has written is an informative book of history, and one readers will read and remember with delight.

Melvin T. Smith Mt. Pleasant, Utah

A Conspiracy of Optimism Management of the National Forests Since World War Two

By Paul W. Hirt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994. Illus., tables, notes, bib., index. liv and 416 pp. Cloth, \$40.00

Paul Hirt has written a well-organized institutional history of the United States Forest Service, focusing on the period 1945 to 1960. As an environmental historian, he is severely critical of the Forest Service. From the extensive introduction through to the concluding chapter. Hirt clearly states his philosophical bias. The Forest Service, he believes, tried to be everything to everyone, satisfying no one and nearly destroying forest ecosystems in the process.

The postwar years were a watershed to the agency. Prior to the war, the Forest Service had been custodians of wildlife habitat, soil, water, and wilderness. After the war economic prosperity brought the housing boom and increased outdoor recreation, changing the services' focus away from protecting forests to developing resources. In order to meet escalating demands on its lands, the Forest Service struggled to meet all uses through intensive management—the greater use of technology, labor, and capital to sustain high levels of production and, at the same time, protect forest ecosystems. This belief that all uses could be accommodated led to a "conspiracy of optimism."

Hirt perceives the Forest Service becoming a closer partner with the timber industry throughout the 1950s and 1960s. As explicit examples of this one-sided business relationship, Hirt uses the liquidation of old forests, the change from selective cutting to clearcutting, the prevention of fire and insect infestations, the construction of extensive road systems, the below-cost sales to the industry, and the allowance of

escalating timber operations. During this time wildlife and recreation constituents became marginalized. As a result, environmentalists, who had been supportive of the Forest Service before the war, became increasingly vocal in their criticism. Further, the concept of multiple use led to the perception that forests were revenue-producing properties. Only in the 1980s, as the public recognized that the forests were losing money and the ecosystems were endangered, did the conspiracy of optimism end.

Conspiracy of Optimism is one of the better organized doctoral dissertations. Hirt's introduction summarizes his interpretation. Each chapter also has an introduction, which presents the issues, and a conclusion, which provides the interpretive perspective and anticipates the next chapter. While this produces redundancy, it hammers home his thesis. In addition, the book is well documented. Hirt even includes a thoughtful and evaluative historiographical essay.

The largest problem with the book is that it is boring. Its best use will be as a reference book. Most general readers will not be interested in an institutional history with a single predominant thesis largely devoid of people. As with most institutional histories, bureaucratic jargon is used extensively and tediously. The characterization of some of the Forest Service leaders would have made the book more interesting. The use of a few narrative techniques would also have broken the monotony. The small field of environmental historians, however, will welcome Hirt's contribution.

Melody Webb Assistant Superintendent Grand Teton National Park

Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History

Edited by Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. Notes, index. xiv and 402 pp. Cloth, \$32.50

In an effort to restructure the fullest possible picture of the history of the complex and multifaceted religious movement popularly known as Mormonism, Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher have assembled seventeen previously unpublished, scholarly essays about the lives of Mormon dissenters.

Since the inception of Mormonism in 1830, more than 100 schismatic movements have split from the parent Mormon organization. Today it is estimated that as many as fifty organized religious groups continue to exist under the umbrella of Mormonism. Even though dissent is considered a threat to religious harmony, the search for God's will can lead to a rigid orthodoxy or to diverse, radical, or bizarre convictions. It is not surprising that as a dynamic, evolving institution Mormonism has attracted and thrown off a wide divergence of people. Likewise splinter groups have had their own dissenters.

Dissent has involved differences of opinion with the established church on issues of doctrine, rites, or governance. Some dissenters continued to accept some doctrines, some repudiated the accepted faith but remained loyal to their own different understanding of Mormonism, some flitted from one Mormon faction to another, others never formally left the Church but ceased activity and questioned leaders and authority, while still others set out to disprove their former faith.

The first generation of Mormon dissent appeared in the 1830s and was directed more at Joseph Smith, Jr.'s leadership than against the Church. The mid-1840s saw the greatest dissenting episode take place. Following the death of Joseph Smith, many members disagreed over leadership or the theological direction of Mormonism. No fewer than fifteen separate religious groups emerged at this time over issues of succession and authority.

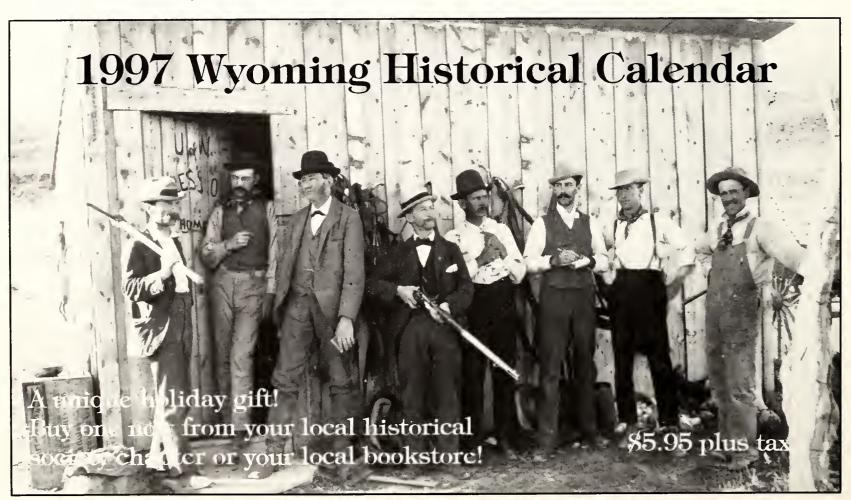
During and following the migration of the largest Mormon group to Utah, more dissent emerged over issues of authority, personality clashes, and a lack of personal commitment among some members. During the remainder of the 19th century, the revelatory tradition of Mormonism continued to be subject to counter claims. "Heretics" reinterpreted, restructured, or reordered the parent Church beliefs to coincide with their own beliefs and priorities. In all periods there were always those who were more "social Mormons" than "converted Mormons" and some of these drifted away to become vocal critics. The Utah Church decision in 1890 to end plural marriage, reinforced by the 2nd or Smith Manifesto of the early 20th century, lead Mormon fundamentalists to dissent. To the present time dissenters have continued to evolve from orthodoxy because of conservative inflexibility in dealing with members holding opposing views on moral or political issues or due to the development of beliefs opposed to the orthodox doctrines of the Church.

Until the publication of *Differing Visions* the subject of dissent from within the Latter Day Saint movement has been sadly neglected. Little study was given to what attracted eventual dissenters to Mormonism in the first place, what prompted them to dissent, or what continuing influence Mormonism retained in their lives. The authors deal with these issues as they discuss the dissenters of various periods of Mormon history and the development of their theological perspectives.

The authors are themselves diverse: some are members of the Utah LDS Church, some of the Reorganized Church, some are unaffiliated and others are members of other Christian denominations. The articles are presented chronologically beginning with the 1830s and working forward to the present. Some of the dissenters discussed will be familiar to most readers, others are more obscure. The research is thorough, the writing and interpretations interesting and provocative, and errors such as that on page 270 that places Colorado City in New Mexico rather than Arizona are few and minor.

Mormons and non-Mormons, historians and the lay public will find this work a valuable addition to the growing historical literature that strives to give a fuller picture about the Mormon past and to demonstrate its significance for the present.

Wayne K. Hinton
Professor of History
Southern Utah University



South Pass, 1868

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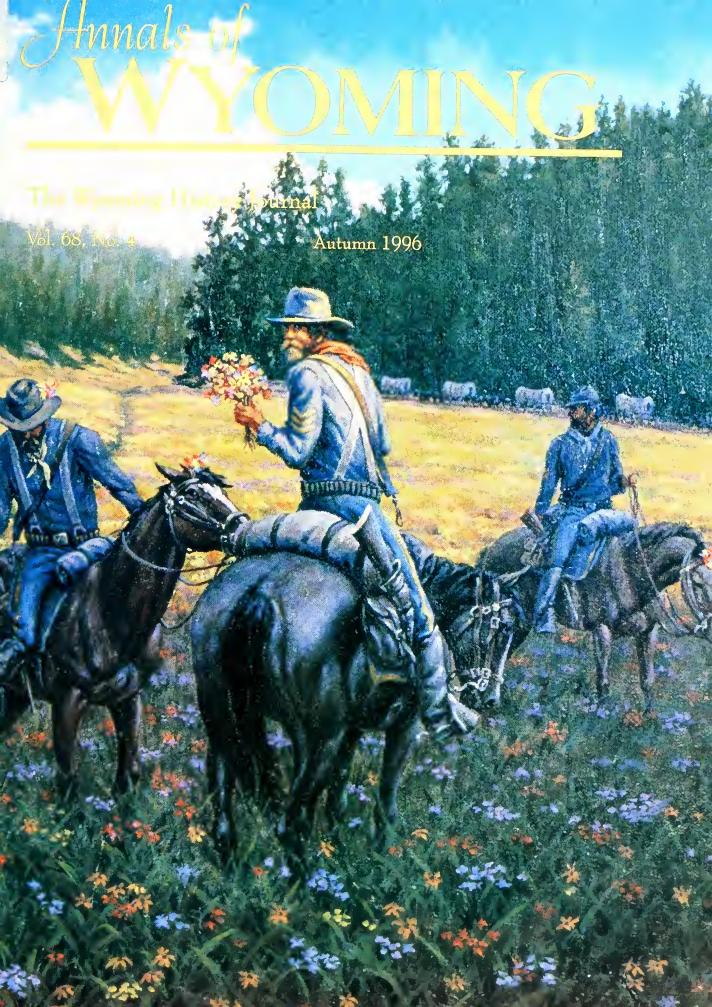
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About the Cover Art:

In the summer of 1874, Lt. Col. George A. Custer and a force of 1,000 well-armed soldiers and 110 wagons from Fort Abraham Lincoln, N. D., explored the Black Hills. On July 23, Custer and a small group of men climbed Inyan Kara Mountain in what is now northeastern Wyoming. The morning following the ascent, the expedition turned eastward into the heart of the Black Hills. That evening, July 24, they camped in the valley of Cold Springs Creek. The next day, they continued up the same valley for about twelve more miles. The painting, done by Dave Paulley, depicts Floral Valley, one of the valleys that the expedition traveled through on that day. The painting, one of several commissioned to commemorate the Wyoming Centennial of Statehood, is held in the collections of the Wyoming State Museum, Division of Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce, Cheyenne.

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The Journal of the Wyoming State Historical Society
Autumn 1996 Vol. 68, No. 4

By Scott Hanley	2
Year in and year out, the rural schools in Wyoming faced a shortage of instructors, unable to find enough to fill all of the classrooms. If a school did find a capable teacher, she rarely stayed long at a rural school. If she was a poor quality teacher, she would probably soon quit in frustration, perhaps even in the middle of the term. If she was competent, she would soon find a better position elsewhere.	
Sam Berry, Hired Gun	12
By Ester Johansson Murray	
A beautiful meadow four miles north of Pahaska Teepee in the North Absaroka Wilderness area of northwest Wyoming	
bears the name "Sam Berry Meadow," It is a peaceful memorial to an enigmatic, larger-than-life figure that once roamed the Cody country. Who was he? What brought him to northwest Wyoming?	
A Burial of Convenience?: The Story of the Pinckney W. Sublette Graves By Dorothy B. Duffin	20
Who is buried at the gravesite in Sublette County on which a tablet memorializes the youngest of the famous Sublette brothers? Duffin explores the mystery and the fascinating journey of the human remains from the Fontenelle to a storage box in the St. Louis courthouse and then back to Sublette County. Are the bones those of Pinckney Sublette?	
Wyoming Memories:	
The 1996 Wyoming State Historical Society Trek, Weston County Sites By Dr. Mike Jording, Mabel Brown, Larry Berger, Leonard Cash, Alice M. Tratebas, Mary Capps	32
Recent Acquisitions in the Hebard Collection, University of Wyoming Libraries Compiled by Tamsen L. Hert	45
Letter to the Editor 46	
Book Reviews 47	
Bogart, In Place: Stories of Landscape & Identity from the American West, reviewed by Winifred Sawaya Was	den47

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Moorcroft school, c. 1908. L. H. Robinson Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

Teacher Shortages in Early Wyoming Education by Scott Hanley

ne summer in 1924, Howard Bell, the superin tendent of School District No.6 in Park County, Wyoming, found himself confronted by a voung woman seeking a job. Eighteen-year-old May Nordquist had just come from the County Superintendent's office, where she had learned there might be an opening for a teacher in the Monument Hill school. She was nervous, feeling less assertive than she was about to act, but she tried not to let it show. "Taking the 'bull by the horns' so to speak, I simply asked if the opening was available and if he would consider me for the position," she later wrote. The interview took place on the spot. "After a few searching questions as to my qualifications he stated that the job was mine. I have often wondered why. .. for my training was pretty inadequate."1

So began another teaching career in the rural

schools of Wyoming. If May Nordquist was surprised at how easily she found her job, she need not have been. During the early decades of Wyoming statehood, openings in rural schools were the norm. A school might well lack a teacher only a week before the term was to begin, as was the case at Monument Hill that summer.² Year in and year out, the rural schools

A teacher razely stayed long at a rural school. If she was a poor teacher, she would probably soon quit in frustration, perhaps even before the end of the term. If she was competent, she would soon find a better position elsewhere.

faced a shortage of instructors, unable to find enough to fill all of the classrooms. For that reason, they often could not afford to be as selective as they might have liked. Wyoming's small population was scattered so thinly across the state that many rural areas found it impractical to consolidate their schools. Instead, each had to struggle along with only a few students and a small tax base, while the demand for teachers often exceeded the supply. Even in 1922, fifty-four years after the creation of Wyoming Territory, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Katherine Morton could still report:

[Consolidation] is doubtless the ideal solution of the rural school problem, but until Wyoming is more densely populated than at present, and possessed of more roads of the excellent quality now being constructed over the state, this solution will not apply to a great number of schools.³

So the need for teachers remained high. There were just too many classrooms that needed filling. The difficulties for a teacher in a rural school were well known.

The weather and the terrain could make travel arduous indeed. In many mountainous areas, the solution was simply to declare nature the winner and not hold school during the winter months, opting instead for split terms in the spring and late summer.⁴ In more cooperative climates, the traditional school year prevailed. Converse County residents, for example, found their winter storms to be less nuisance than "the protracted hot weather in summer." Consequently, most districts within that county held classes from September through May or early June.⁵

For those who did hold class during the winter, simply getting to school could be difficult enough. But once there, the teacher's work had only begun. May Shoemaker taught in a Big Horn County school, where she found the typical conditions:

At school the teacher did all the janitor work, which consisted of sweeping the school-room and building a fire in the box-type wood heater. There was no way to regulate the heat. Those sitting in seats nearest the stove were uncomfortably hot while those in the corners sat with cold feet. The seats were old-fashioned double ones, but never quite enough for 20 pupils. In such cases benches with-

out backs answered the purpose while the books lay on the bench beside the student. Paper was not used for daily lessons as a rule. Slates took the place of paper. Those slate pencils were hard to sharpen and those which were made entirely of slate (no wood covering) broke easily when dropped. The lessons turned in on slates often got erased or smeared before the teacher got to check them.⁶

Under such conditions, openings for new teachers would always be available, even for those whose training was, like Nordquist's, "pretty inadequate." A teacher rarely stayed long at a rural school. If she was a poor teacher, she would probably soon quit in frustration,

¹Letter from May Nordquist Ballenger, Wyoming Retired Teachers Association (WRTA) Collection #6467, Box #1, American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming.

² fbid.

³ Wyoming, Biennia/ Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (1921-1922), 20.

⁴ "Early Day Schools Recalled," *The Douglas Budget*, May 1, 1975, in the WRTA Collection, Box #1.

⁵ Wyoming. Biennial Report (1896-1898), 48.

⁶ Letter from May D Shoemaker, WRTA Collection, Box #1

perhaps even before the end of the term. If she was competent, she would soon find a better position elsewhere. The problem was hardly new in 1924, when Nordquist began, In 1892, Mary Watkins, Superintendent of Schools in Johnson County, wrote that "very few schools keep a teacher longer than one term, and the terms are very short." Eight years later, the superintendent in Fremont County, Mary Mason, elaborated: Some of our schools suffer these conditions — short terms through lack of funds, change of teachers from the same cause. No teacher can live upon the wages earned in three or four months' term each year. They must seek employment elsewhere, leaving the School Board to secure whom they can. This cause also forces the School Board to hire incompetent teachers, for it is a case of necessity - "poor teachers or none," as a good teacher will seek schools with longer terms and better wages.8

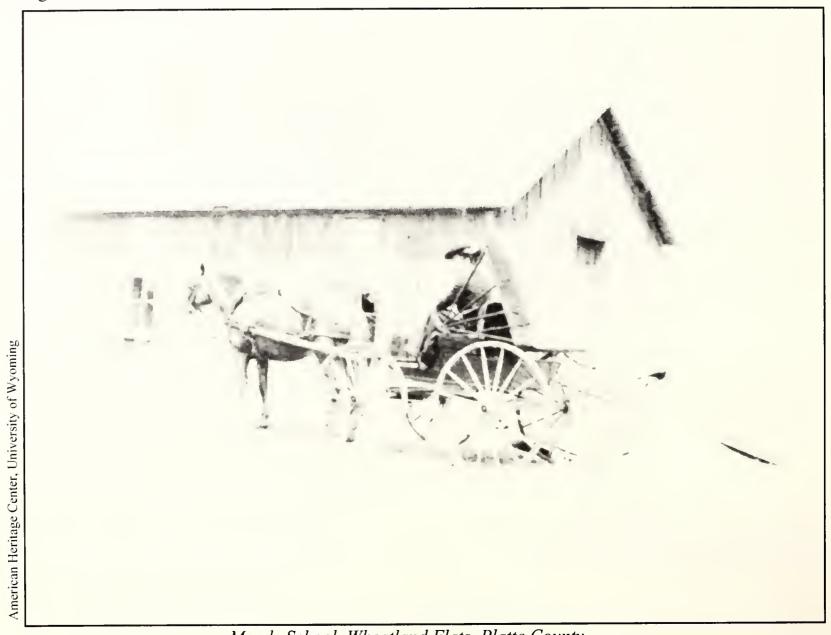
The previous report, in 1898, had contained a similar complaint from Big Horn County; "[W]hen a good teacher is secured, he or she should be retained. As it is in most cases, too frequent changes are made." Retaining teachers, however, was not so easy.

Turnover was widespread and persistent. Park County's Upper Sage Creek school went from 1914 through 1918 without a single teacher staying more than a year. This had to be especially frustrating for the local people, as they could remember the 1907 loss of a highly regarded instructor who was lured away to a better position in Cody. According to Margaret Hoglund Coe, the rural residents were so infuriated that they seceded from the Cody school district. However, they were still without a teacher. 10

Unfortunately for parents and children outside of a town, turnover of this sort was all too common. Part of the problem was money. A one-room schoolhouse represented only a few taxpayers, who could not afford to

- ⁷ Wyoming, *Biennial Report* (1891-1892), 41.
- 8 Wyoming. *Biennial Report* (1899-1900), 33
- ⁹ Wyoming. *Biennial Report*(1896-1898), 44. Another hindrance in retaining teachers was the custom of dismissing female teachers upon marriage. This undoubtedly cost Wyoming the services of many of the most experienced teachers, or prevented women from gaining the experience which would have made them excellent teachers.

10 Letter from Margaret Hoglund Coe, WRTA Collection, Box



Moody School, Wheatland Flats, Platte County.

pay as much as a city school for the demanding work, or to keep up an adequate building. "How can it be expected that our county schools will keep improving when the brainiest and most competent teachers are lured to the town schools, or other lines of employment, by salaries commensurate with the work performed?" inquired Thomas Tynan, the State Superintendent in 1900.¹¹ The answer, all too often, was that they could not. The rural teachers were not necessarily destitute, but they could earn much more in a larger town school. In 1918, for example, the average rural or small-town teacher earned less than two-thirds as much as a teacher in a larger town. ¹²

Wyoming's small population could not meet the

chronic need for teachers, but the state was fortunate that its neighbors did not suffer as much from this problem. Many new teachers were imported from other states, lured by abundant job openings and wages which were often somewhat higher than those at home. 13 The Board of Examiners claimed in 1902 that

Although it may have seemed at times that anyone could get a pol as a schoolteacher, Wyoming's Department of Education did try to allow only qualified people into the classroom.

more than ninety percent of Wyoming teachers were "foreigners. They were not at all happy about the situation, either, believing that other states had lower certification standards and that it was therefore too easy for an out-of-state teacher to be accepted in a Wyoming school.¹⁴

A decade later, while Wyoming natives were making inroads into the ranks of the teaching profession, Meda Sinsel of Johnson County also complained, "A large number of [out-of-state teachers] were seeking adventure and were not very satisfactory and to say the least were not very loyal to our State institutions." 15

But Wyoming depended on such teachers. Maude Sims of Crook County noted that without the teachers coming in from eastern states, she could not have kept half of the schools in the county open for full terms, "even by working our home teachers twelve months of the year." Nor was that last statement just hyperbole. Several teachers taught at more than one school, taking advantage of the fact that some were open in the winter and others during the summer. Both parties were served: the teacher gained extra income and the school boards could spread their resources farther. 17

Such double duty was not enough to solve the problems, however, and Wyoming continued to be an outlet for surplus teachers from the Midwest states. Two such teachers were Mary and Mable Nauman, a pair of sisters who discovered in 1924 that Indiana had more teachers than available positions. Hearing that Wyoming needed teachers, they wrote to the superintendent in Douglas. His reply, as Mary recalled, was "Come on out. There are vacancies." 18

Packing into Mable's Model T, the intrepid Hoosier teenagers headed west on the Lincoln Highway. The pavement gave out in Iowa, but the car kept going until reaching Wyoming after five days. There "the two Indiana girls found themselves to be somewhat celebrities, for it was not a usual thing in those days for young people to trek all over the country as they do now," May recalled. Whatever adventure they may have expected, the arid plains came as a terrible shock. Mary

remembered, "We were disappointed in the hot dry land we found here, but we had no money for a return journey had we wished to do so. "Nor were there any jobs to return to, so both became teachers in the Douglas area. Mary disliked Wyoming enough that she soon returned to Indiana, but only for a year. The state even-

tually captured the pair: the two sisters had met two brothers, with predictable results. 19

While the incidents of adventure-seeking may have been exaggerated, the county superintendents did have to accept a number of applicants who were more desperate for jobs than they were committed to teaching. A young woman in the early years of the century had relatively few socially-approved options if she wished to support herself. She might not like teaching, or even like children, yet would find herself in the classroom because she believed that "it was the only *respectable* job for a young woman to hold." 20 May Nordquist,

- 11 Wyoming. *Biennia/ Report* (1899-1900), 7.
- 12 Wyoming. Wyoming Educational Directory (1917-1918). A "city" was defined as a community of one thousand or more inhabitants. Teachers in these schools earned an average of \$810.56 that year, while teachers in smaller communities earned an average of \$517.67. Average city salaries were probably also higher because those teachers had more years of experience than many of the rural teachers.
 - 13 Wyoming. Biennial Report (1896), 64.
 - 14 Wyoming. Biennial Report (1901-1902), 70.
 - 15 Wyoming. Biennial Report (1913-1914), 40.
- 16 Wyoming. *Biennial Report* (1908), 42.¹⁷ Wyoming. *Biennial Report* (1902), 74; letter from Willard R. Beck, WRTA Collection, Box #1.
- ¹⁸ Letters from Mary Nauman, Mable Nauman, WRTA Collection, Box #1.
 - ¹⁹ Ibid.
 - ²⁰ Letter from Wana Clay Olson, WRTA Collection, Box #1.

despite her misgivings about being unqualified, frankly admitted, "I needed [the job]. The starting salary was one hundred dollars a month, a rather good salary for a teacher just starting out in 1924." It might, perhaps, have been too good a salary to spend on a novice teacher had there been other candidates available.

Although it may have seemed at times that anyone could get a job as a schoolteacher, Wyoming's Department of Education did try to allow only qualified people into the classroom. However, the definition of *qualified* was necessarily flexible, depending on circumstances. In general, standards became stiffer over time, as more teachers became available (especially from within the state). Still, a poor quality teacher was pref-

erable to no teacher at all. The situation became especially difficult, for example, during the First World War, when many of the male teachers left the profession. The schools made up the deficiency by issuing emergency certificates, with the requirement that the

...the Department of Education in 1919 began a program of recognizing certain rural schools as "standard schools."

holder complete five hours of correspondence work with the University of Wyoming before the certificate expired in eight months.²²

Originally, the task of certifying a teacher fell upon the county superintendent. The territorial laws of 1888 had established that the superintendent would issue one-year certifications, valid only in that county, to anyone who passed the superintendent's examination. This left the county official with a great deal of discretion, as there were no standard tests and each teacher had to be reexamined every year. If the teacher moved to another county, a new examination for a new certificate was required.²³

The Department of Education created a more centralized system in 1899 with the formation of a State Board of Examiners, who drew up several sets of examinations and distributed them to the various county superintendents.²⁴ They also established three grades of certificates: the lowest still required annual renewal, but a higher certificate was valid for three years and the highest was good for four years. The latter fostered a few complaints that few teachers found it worthwhile to obtain the four-year certificate, since there was so little difference between it and the one for three years. But the prospect of being certified for three years instead of one was very attractive and many teachers began acquiring the higher certificates.²⁵ At the same time, the state legislature authorized automatic fouryear certificates to degree holders from the Normal School at the University of Wyoming, while graduates with five years of teaching experience would be exempted from examination thereafter.²⁶

An interesting point about the certification process is that it did not really become more restrictive. The relative supply and demand for teachers would not allow it. Instead of eliminating the lower certificates, the higher certificates were set up to reward teachers with more training and experience. Over time, retaining better qualified instructors allowed superintendents to reject those with lower credentials, but they could not eliminate the latter immediately. Many of these teachers were fresh from the eighth grade ranks, taking an examination immediately after earning their own di-

plomas. In 1910, for example, Johnson County decided to economize by allowing some of the county children to take examinations for one-year certificates at graduation. Those who passed were given their diploma and teaching certificate at the same time.²⁷

These extra teachers were needed in order to weed out the less qualified instructors as the State Superintendent's office had begun enforcing the law making the District Treasurer responsible for any money paid out to a teacher without a certificate. Enforcing this law undoubtedly spurred many counties to clean house. Before, a desperate county superintendent might have been lenient regarding an unqualified teacher, but now the tests were standardized and, after 1907, graded by the Board of Examiners rather than the county official, as had previously been the case. 29

²¹ Letter from Mary Nordquist Ballenger, WRTA Collection, Box # 1.

²² Wyoming. *Biennial Report* (1920), 28. The figures for 1918 and 1919 do not appear in the Superintendent's reports, so it is difficult to determine exactly how acute the shortage became. The 1920 report does show that while only 11% of teachers were male, they made up 34% of high school teachers and only 8% of elementary teachers. It seems probable that the high schools were hurt most directly, while rural schools saw an intensification of the existing trend, with better teachers moving up to fill the vacancies in the high schools and poorly-trained teenagers with emergency certificates replacing them in the rural schools.

²³ Wyoming. *Biennial Report* (1896-1898), 8,9,34,53.

²⁴ Wyoming. Biennial Report (1900), 24.

²⁵ Wyoming. Biennial Report (1902), 70,75.

²⁶ Wyoming. Biennial Report (1902), 69.

²⁷ Wyoming. Biennial Report (1910), 37.

²⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁹ Wyoming. Biennial Report (1908), 10.



Cambria school on Antelope Hill, Weston County, was typical of what might have been called an "urban" school in Wyoming but it, too, had trouble keeping teachers.

The struggle to keep teachers qualified did not end with certification. Every year, and sometimes twice a year, each county would hold a "teachers institute," a four- or five-day gathering where teachers could share experiences and listen to lectures on their craft. Funded by the county, the institutes were something of a cross between summer revival camp and a day in school: after opening exercises and a song or two, the lectures would begin, with such titles as "Laws of Learning," "The Educative Value of Work," "Good Roads," or "The Place and Value of English Grammar." The lectures were usually delivered by local teachers, with perhaps a faculty member from the University there as a featured attraction.³⁰ Since the teachers were conveniently gathered in one place, the superintendent would hold examinations and give out certificates at the end of the affair.³¹

The institutes were a favorite among the county superintendents and, according to their reports, among the teachers as well. Gertrude Huntington of Carbon County declared that "[t]eachers who have been deprived of normal training find the plan especially valuable," adding that "notebooks are freely used." Huntington liked the program so well, in fact, that she had previously threatened to refuse rehire to any teacher

who skipped the sessions.³³ Her view eventually prevailed, as a 1913 law made attendance at the institute mandatory and authorized the State Superintendent to revoke the certificate of any teacher who did not have a "sufficient and reasonable excuse for being absent from the institute."³⁴

In the effort to create effective rural schools, however, certifying teachers was only one part of the answer. Recognizing that a good school would require more effort from the community as well as from the teacher, the Department of Education in 1919 began a program of recognizing certain rural schools as "standard schools." The standards were those of the city schools, which had larger, cleaner facilities and betterpaid teachers. Any school wishing this distinction could call for an inspection, which often turned into "a gala occasion" for the community. The school would be awarded points in each of the following categories:

³⁰ Laramie County Teachers Institute Programs from 1913, 1914, and 1919. Wyoming State Archives, Division of Cultural Resources, State Department of Commerce, Cheyenne.

³¹ Wyoming. Biennial Report (1902), 80.

³² Wyoming. Biennial Report (1900), 30-31.

³³ Wyoming. Biennial Report (1898), 46.

³⁴ Wyoming. Biennial Report (1914), 6.

I. THE SCHOOL PLANT

- a. Accommodations for Teachers
- b. Location
- c. Outbuildings
- d. The School Building
- e. Heating
- f. Equipment and Supplies

II. SCHOOL EFFICIENCY

- a. Community Activities
- b. Organization
- c. The Teacher
- d. Educational Progress

Part I was forty percent of the grade; part II, sixty percent. The building was required to have accessible drinking water, at least twenty square feet of floor space per child, a flagpole, a blackboard, maps, a dictionary, and an approved set of textbooks, among many other things. The teacher had to possess the highest certificate available to a rural teacher, a "professional spirit," and the county superintendent's recommendation as a "superior teacher."³⁵

Naturally, raising a rural school to these requirements was expensive and the district was under no formal compulsion to try to meet such guidelines. But state officials could put informal pressure upon con-

scientious parents and community leaders. State Superintendent Katherine Morton described their options by stating, "The local boards could, if they so desired, employ teachers with low qualifications, hold pitifully short terms of school, and refuse to recommend a tax levy sufficient to raise funds to maintain efficient schools." The local citizens might remain content with substandard schools, but they would not be allowed to do so with an easy conscience.

A push for a standard school would often have to come from the teacher's initiative. One teacher in Laramie County insisted that "standardization is wholly 'up to the teacher'. . . Patrons, as a rule, do not know the meaning of 'standard school,' and should be enlightened by the State and County officials through the teacher and school board." 37

The paternalistic nature of standardization may have seemed rather heavy-handed to parents and local school boards, as the state did not hesitate to play on any anxieties people may have had of being backward yokels. One state publication stated bluntly:

35 Wyoming. Biennial Report (1920), 16-23.

36 Ibid., 16.

³⁷ Dorris L. Sander, "A Study of Wyoming Rural Schools with General Areas for Evaluation." M. A. Thesis, Department of Elementary Education, University of Wyoming, (1952), 181.



Meeteetse School, Park County

The country child, getting his education in a poorly built, inadequately equipped school, with an insufficiently educated and often times untrained teacher, will enter life's competition seriously handicapped as against the child who attended and profited by attendance in a standard, consolidated, or graded city school... The community with a Standard School is a better community to live in; children, going from its homes to schools in other places or to high school, secure better recognition from the start; other schools accept its work without question. ³⁸

Under this sort of prodding, many communities did undertake the standardization of their schools. In the first year, twenty schools received the distinction (nine in Park County alone), while by 1928 a third of rural schools had become standard. For their expense and efforts, they received a brown and yellow shield with the words STANDARD SCHOOL emblazoned

in three inch letters. The sign itself may not have been a lot, but people placed it on their schools with pride, displaying their commitment to their children's education.³⁹

The Department of Education, as state agencies will, concentrated on certificates and

standards; meanwhile, it fell to the teacher in the classroom to deliver something called "education." In Wyoming's early days, this often meant fitting a person to be productive and orderly in society. The state wanted honest, hardworking citizens, and it was the schools' job to produce them. Long before statehood arrived, the principal of the Laramie school wrote:

The demand of the times is a good practical system of public schools. There is nothing in this world of more importance than the proper education of their children. The intelligent and disciplined person is always a strong and productive element in the community while the ignorant and undisciplined is a dangerous and unproductive consumer. The best school of morality, too, is the properly disciplined public school wherein punctuality and regularity are enforced and the pupil is constantly taught to suppress mere self will and inclination. Self-control is the basis of all moral virtues and industrious study habits are the highest qualities that can be found in children. ⁴⁰

Few, if any, later teachers would ever have read Fitch's article, but their own recollections reveal that they, too, saw education in terms of social responsibility. May Nordquist boasted "of the hundreds of youngsters who have passed through my classrooms, a very,

very small few did not prove a credit to their community."41 The best students were those who became "good, useful people" or more commonly, "good citizens." Disruptive students were the supreme test of a teacher's ability and a major source of anxiety. "He had had so much trouble in town the year before that he had been expelled," a teacher wrote of one boy. "My heart fell when I realized what I was up against. But I had no trouble at all. He made a good citizen later."42

Usefulness was valued just as much as discipline and order were. Arthur Glasgow taught in Powell in 1909 and 1910 and reported, "In high school, great stress was put on the earning power of college graduates. Since, some educators have pointed out that enlightenment enables one to be of more service as well as to understand and appreciate life to a greater degree." 43

In its starkest terms, producing a good citizen often meant saving a child from a life of crime. At the Fifth Territorial Teacher's Institute, one teacher (perhaps feeling underpaid) had asked, "Which is best, an ounce of prevention or a pound of cure in the matter of

paying teachers to prevent crime or paying attorneys to prosecute criminals, etc.?"⁴⁴ The Johnson County Institute of 1910 featured a lecture titled "The Boy Who Goes Wrong"⁴⁵ Similarly, Arthur Glasgow asked, "Many educators declare pursuit of poetry a wanton waste of time, but is it? Extensive research shows that some acquaintance with poetry definitely tends to inhibit criminal tendencies. A school is sometimes

In its starkest terms, producing a good citizen often meant saving a child from a life of crime.

- 38 Wyoming Department of Education. "Standardization of Rural Schools," Bulletin No. 2, Series B (1921), 3-5, quoted in Sander, "A Study of Wyoming Rural Schools," 10. The first "standard school" in Wyoming was at Royal Valley, Niobrara County.
- 39 Wyoming. *Biennial Report* (1920), 16; Sander, "Study of Wyoming Rural Schools," 74.
- 40 Fitch, R.E., *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, April 18, 1873, quoted in State Superintendent of Public Instruction Release No. 5, February 19, 1940, WRTA Collection, Box #1.
 - 41 Letter from May Nordquist Ballenger, WRTA Collection.
 42 Letter from Mrs. Claude C. Miller, WRTA Collection, Box
 - 43 Letter from Arthur Glasgow, WRTA Collection, Box #1.
- 44 Wyoming Department of Education, Superintendent of Public Instruction Release No. 13, April 15, 1940, WRTA Collection, Box #1.
- ⁴⁵ Wyoming. *Biennial Report* (1909-1910), 38. It is interesting to speculate what a lecture on "The Girl Who Goes Wrong" might have dealt with. In any event, the teachers' reminiscences seem to conceive and describe the disorderly student only as male; troublesome girls receive virtually no mention.

thought of as turning out citizens, an asset to society as well as to themselves." ⁴⁶ Presumably, if poetry could not prove its usefulness by preventing antisocial behavior, than it might indeed be "a wanton waste of time." In this regard, the definitive claim to victory came from May Shoemaker, who declared with satisfaction, "If any [of my students] were ever punished for committing a crime, it has never yet reached my ears." ⁴⁷

In the classroom, discipline was the watchword. In many ways, it could hardly have been otherwise, especially in the one-room school where children at different levels were studying different lessons at the same time. Teaching children to read was the first task, for once they could understand simple written instructions, they could be kept occupied with little supervision, freeing the teacher to help the older and more advanced students. The overworked teacher, however dedicated, had little time to spare for less promising students and "could do little but provide 'busy work' for these unfortunates," wrote one teacher sadly. "The big 'push' was to provide an academic background for a college-oriented student. All the others were to be homemakers and ditchdiggers." 49

While the Superintendent of Public Instruction worried about certification, teachers and parents often considered the ability to keep discipline to be one of the more important distinctions between a competent and incompetent instructor. It was certainly a factor in the high turnover rate, as some teachers recalled that those who quit often did so in frustration at being unable to control their students.⁵⁰ Ferris Bruner recalled a pair of rowdy fellow students at the Mill School in Converse County: "Those kids had run off three teachers. Finally the school board was faced with one of two choices — either to close the school or [to] find a teacher who could maintain discipline." The solution appeared in the form of a no-nonsense teacher named Mag Bolln. "About the first thing she did was grab each of those kids by the collar and hoist them out the door on their ear!" After that, there was no more trouble.51

Other teachers used means only slightly less subtle. Constance Weis introduced her students in the Sheet Flats school to "The Board of Education," a device she described as "decorative for the wall [and] excellent for any student who failed to do his work properly and on time." Work was done. 52

With children paying attention and diligently doing their exercises, the teacher could then concentrate on instruction. The coursework was often limited by the available textbooks. After I899 the books were free to the students, thanks to an act of legislation that teach-

ers had been requesting for years. This act met with almost universal approval. Now children would no longer have to forego school for lack of book money.⁵³

Uniformity of coursework was slower in arriving, however. County superintendents were frustrated by the wasted time and money which resulted when those responsible for purchasing books were poorly informed on the available literature. Out-of-state teachers often came into Wyoming with favorite books already in mind and immediately pressed the district to buy them. This might not have been so bad if the teachers had remained in one place for several years. As it was, many schools could maintain no continuity from year to year, with each new teacher initiating a new program with favorite books (if the school board could be talked into buying them), regardless of what the children had studied the term before.⁵⁴ The result must have been frequent confusion, even though teachers recalled that only the more advanced students dealt with a curriculum of more than reading, phonics, arithmetic, spelling, and health.55

Many teachers limited their coursework to a lower grade and encouraged older students to enter a town school or take preparatory programs at the University in order to advance their education. Under the prevailing circumstances, that was probably for the best.⁵⁶

In 1912 Myra Tolman Anderson found her first teaching job at the Thayne school, where "the children became so unruly that [the previous teacher] quit before the term was over." She soon found out why, admitting that "the fifth grade gave me quite a bit of trouble that year. Two or three of them wrote obscene words in indelible pencil on several of the books. I was horrified and didn't know what to do but it was finally resolved when one of the School Board members came and talked to the boys." The term was a success thereafter and the grateful board members offered to raise her salary from \$60 to \$75 per month, mentioning that

⁴⁶ Letter from Arthur Glasgow, WRTA Collection, Box #1.

⁴⁷Letter from May D. Shoemaker, WRTA Collection, Box #1. ⁴⁸ Letter from Esther N. Hanseen, WRTA Collection, Box #1.

⁴⁹Letter from Clyde W. Kurtz, WRTA Collection, Box #1.

⁵⁰ Letter from Ethel Mae Boyle, WRTA Collection, Box #1. 51 "Early Day Schools Recalled," The Douglas *Budget*, 1 May

^{1975,} WRTA Collection, Box #1.

52 Letter from Constance Weis, WRTA Collection, Box #2.53

Wyoming. *Biennial Report* (1894), 11-12; Biennial Report (1902), 51.

^{51. 54} Wyoming. *Biennial Report* (1908), 35-36; *Biennial Report* (1910), 31; *Biennial Report* (1912), 6.

⁵⁵ Letter from Mary Nordquist Ballenger, WRTA Collection, Box #1.

⁵⁶ Biennial Report (1906), 53.

they had not expected her to last even one month. Unfortunately for Thayne, they were unable to keep this teacher past her first term, either. Myra Tolman had a better offer from Afton, where for the same \$75 per month, she would only have to teach one grade. 57

Her story aptly illustrates the most persistent challenges among Wyoming's rural schools. The school board at Thayne had held this unknown nineteen-year-old in so little regard that they expected she would quit within a month — yet they had hired her anyway. No one else was available. One can only describe such hiring practices as desperate, a desperation brought on by the frustrating turnover among rural teachers. For the smallest schools, it struck from both sides. If the teacher was incompetent and unable to maintain order, she would quit, sometimes suddenly. If she proved equal to the challenge, she would probably move on to a better job, as Tolman did. The problem would persist as long as underpopulated schools were scattered throughout the underpopulated rural districts.

The State Superintendent's report of 1920 described a shortage of two hundred teachers, only five for every six needed. Not surprisingly, "Especially was the shortage acute in the rural districts." 58

That was in 1920. But it could have been 1912. Or 1906. Or 1894. Wyoming needed, and wanted, good teachers for the rural schools, but they were too often unavailable. Keeping a teacher for more than a year was almost an impossible dream for many rural schools, which then had to accept whomever they could get.

By almost any measure, competent teachers were hard to find. The Department of Education focused on formal credentials and training, using the certification system to control access to the classroom. The fact that teachers with the desired qualifications were in such short supply, however, severely limited the standards which could be imposed. Although such measures as financial penalties for hiring uncertified teachers seem rigid enough, it was more common for the Department to use rewards rather than punishments to encourage teachers to improve their credentials. Many of the changes in regulations did not restrict certification, but instead offered teachers relief from frequent recertification if they met higher standards, such as university training. Superintendents could not always afford to reject the poorest teachers until they had found a way to make extended training more attractive and so create a pool of more qualified instructors.

For a few decades in the 1920s and 1930s, the standardization program helped to raise the quality of the small schools, but the program did not address the root of the problem: the lack of resources with which a small community could provide for its school, and the high ratio of schools to potential teachers. Until more consolidation could take place, the "rural school problem" would continue and small communities would scramble to provide instructors for their children.

The problem persisted because of the special demands which rural schools placed on a teacher. Poor facilities, low pay, rowdy students, and ungraded schools were a great discouragement to many new (and they were so often new) teachers. Sometimes they would happen upon a good teacher who would make a career in education. But even when these appeared, rural schools were slow to benefit. Higher pay and more comfortable schools, as well as the privilege of teaching a single grade, made urban schools more desirable posts. The unavoidable "trickle up" effect left the rural schools with a rotating corps of inexperienced teachers; the occasional gem would stay in teaching, but rarely at the rural school.

Those who did would remember it forever. One was May Nordquist, once an eighteen-year-old girl stalking the streets of Cody in search of a job she doubted she was qualified for. "It is an experience, though perhaps not as drastic, that I would wish on new teachers," she wrote after her retirement. "It would surely test their [mettle] and dedication." But such wishes did not stop her from supporting a movement toward more consolidation.⁵⁹ However constructive the experience might be for the most dedicated teachers, it also convinced the less dedicated to seek some other career. This would have been all to the good, had Wyoming been able to concentrate only on teacher quality. But the reality was that the state also needed a large quantity of teachers in proportion to its students. As long as this disproportion continued, Wyoming would be faced with its "rural school problem."

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⁵⁷ Letter from Myra Tolman Anderson, WRTA Collection, Box #1.

⁵⁸ Wyoming. *Biennial Report* (1920): 8.59 Letter from May Nordquist Ballanger. WRTA Collection. Box #1.

Sam Berry, Hired Gun

By Ester Johansson Murray

A beautiful mountain meadow four miles north of Pahaska Teepee in the North Absaroka Wilderness area of northwest Wyoming bears the name "Sam Berry Meadow," a peaceful memorial to an old outlaw. Who was Sam Berry? What does his story say about the larger-than-life figures who once roamed the Cody Country?



Sam Berry on his horse "Romeo"

am Berry was a guide, a hunter, who spent more than five years in the Wyoming Territorial Prison in Laramie for murder. He claimed he committed others.

Running scared sometimes, boastful always, rarely remorseful, Sam Berry lived a colorful life as viewed by western romantics. From his comments to friends, he had regrets. From his actions, his conscience tormented him and he sought escape in alcohol. His bravery and reliability gained him friends and he did not enjoy being alone. He preferred having a partner. He was not a complex psychopathic killer. He killed for money.

During his Cody years, Berry's notorious past made him a novelty for the dudes. He held his own conversationally with his peers and had many friends.

Berry's Wyoming Territorial prison record gives a few hints of his early life. In it, he listed he attended a common school which indicates for the early 1850s a fairly good education. A letter he wrote on October 8, 1894, requesting a pardon, is preserved in his prison record. The letter is legibly written and well composed, although somewhat flamboyant.¹

According to the 1910 census, he said he was 63, born in Kentucky and both parents were born in Kentucky.² He had dark hair and gray eyes, his height was 5 feet, 7 inches and, at the time he was sent to prison, he weighed 145 pounds. His prison photograph shows a good-looking man, beginning to bald, dark mustache, and wearing a dark suit.³

He claimed he had been with the Quantrill Raiders, the notorious gang of border raiders in the latter part of the Civil War. It is possible that he joined in Kentucky during Quantrill's last days. William Clarke Quantrill led a gang operating in Missouri before the Civil War. His biographer, Albert Castel, described him as fundamentally depraved and a treacherous double crossing, paranoid thief.⁴ Quantrill gathered a group of outlaws and took advantage of the political divisions in Civil War-era Missouri. In the state where half of the populace was for slavery and secession and the other half favored the Union, his gang conducted lawless guerrilla warfare for two years.⁵

Later, Quantrill began raiding eastward through Missouri into Kentucky, to Spencer County, south of Louisville, where he "picked up some Kentucky youths." Berry would have been eighteen when Quantrill reached Spencer county. Years later, Sam Berry told Shoshone Forest ranger Harry Thurston that he was with Quantrill's guerrillas during the Civil War. He described riding into towns, hacking citizens right and left with sabers, killing citizens, sacking and burning towns. He told Thurston he still could recall the victims' agonized expressions.

Quantrill was killed near Louisville, Kentucky, and sub-chiefs Bill Anderson and George Todd briefly led the gang until they also were killed. Several gangs formed from the remnants of Quantrill's gang, including those led by Jim and Cole Younger and their cousins Frank and Jesse James. Jesse "invented" bank robbery and "perfected" train robbery, according to one historian.8 Years later, Berry admitted he took part in bank and train robberies, but there is no record of which gang he joined or where these acts of lawlessness might have taken place. On some records, Berry listed his age as six years younger than on other records. The younger age would have made him barely fourteen when the Raiders disbanded. There are other discrepancies. In some records, he stated that he had been born in California. In others, he listed his birthplace as Kentucky.

Berry claimed he went to Fremont County, Wyoming, sometime in the early 1870s. However, just as in the case of his riding with Quantrill's raiders, there are several inconsistencies in his story. At one point, he told Thurston he had been with the U. S. Cavalry "following a party of hostile Indians 1877 - 1878." This could have been possible because Berry may have been a civilian employee with the Army. He is not listed as a soldier.

¹ "Samuel Berry," file #5, Wyoming Territorial Prison Records, Wyoming State Archives. (See illustration, following page)

² He apparently was not enumerated in Park County in 1920 by the U. S. census taker nor was he listed in the 1880 Wyoming census.

³Wyoming Territorial Prison Records, Wyoming State Archives.

⁴ Quantrill was born in Ohio July 31, 1837, and died in 1865. Albert Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill*. (New York: Frederick Fell, Inc., 1962), 157.

⁵ Castel called Quantrill's Massacre of Lawrence, Kansas, August 21, 1863, "one of the most terrible events in United States history."

⁶ Castel.

⁷ Thurston was the Shoshone Forest ranger from 1907 to 1911. For the comments on Berry, see Harry Thurston papers, Park County Archives, Cody. Despite his statements, Sam Berry's name is not among those of gang members. However, one raider, who acted as "orderly sergeant in Quantrill's gang, is listed as Ike Berry. See Castel,

⁸ Paul I. Wellman, *A Dynasty of Western Outlaws*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 69.

⁹ In trying to pick up Sam's whereabouts after the Civil War, there is his statement on his prison record that he had been in Fremont County for twenty years. He gave his occupation as cowboy or cowman. That date would have brought him to the county in the early 1870's.

¹⁰ "Late in October 1877 the Oglala and Brule left their agencies in Nebraska for the Missouri (river). Escorting them on their long march were several companies of cavalry from Fort Robinson and Camp Sheridan." Remi Nadeau, *Fort Laramie and the Sioux Indians*. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967), 291.

Berry next turned up in Wyoming in the late 1880s when he became involved in a shooting affray with a man who apparently had some involvement in the Sweetwater lynchings of James Averill and Ella Watson. Averill and Watson (also known as "Cattle Kate") died on the Sweetwater not far from Independence Rock.¹¹ Before their deaths, Averill and Watson homesteaded and ran a few cattle in the middle of land desired by John Bothwell, a neighboring big cattle operator on the Sweetwater. On July 20, 1889, six men abducted Ella Watson and James Averill and lynched them. Some people believed Henderson was a participant, but there is no evidence linking him to the incident.¹² In October, 1889, the case against the cattlemen was dismissed.¹³

A short while after the Sweetwater lynchings, John Clay, manager of the Quarter Circle 71 Ranch owned by the Wyoming Cattle Ranch Company, hired John Powers (also known as George Henderson) to be foreman of the ranch, located near Split Rock on the Sweetwater River. Henderson also was hired as a stock detective, probably because he had been a Pinkerton detective in Pennsylvania during coal miners' disputes. ¹⁴

Almost a year later, in July, 1890, Henderson started having disagreements with another 71 Ranch employee, John Tregoning (also known as Jack Smith). Henderson accused Tregoning of sleeping on the job. Tregoning worked as a night hawk for the 71 Ranch and Henderson claimed that instead of watching the herd, he built a camp fire and went to sleep beside it "while the herd of cattle roamed at will." Later, the two argued over unpaid wages. Finally, Henderson fired the cowboy for failing to return two borrowed horses which he had borrowed in order to ride to Buffalo to do some "carousing."

Some time later, Henderson helped drive 2000 head of 71 cattle to Johnson County. There, he encountered Tregoning who confronted him over the \$9 he claimed he was owed for back pay. Henderson gave him the money, but emphasized to Tregoning that he was now discharged, even though he still had the two 71 horses. At that time, Tregoning returned to the Sweetwater to the neighboring Sheehan ranch, five miles from the 71.

On October 8, 1890, Henderson and Pete Steckles, who worked for the 71, rode over to retrieve the horses by force. Henderson, armed with his six-shooter, backed up by unarmed Steckles, walked forward to accost Tregoning, leading his horse with his right hand, his head lowered as he faced the fierce, cold wind. Tregoning suddenly stepped forward with his Winchester rifle. He was backed up by Sam Berry, also armed with a Winchester. Both Tregoning and Henderson demanded the other drop his gun. Neither did and "Tregoning looked back over his shoulder at Berry and then leveled his rifle

at Henderson and pulled the trigger, and Henderson fell to the ground, exclaiming, 'My God, I am shot,' and he died almost immediately. 16

Tregoning and Berry were arrested and taken to Lander for trial.¹⁷ At the end of the trial, the jury deliberated for 27 hours and on August 16, 1891, came back with verdicts of "murder in the second degree for Tregoning and Manslaughter for Berry." The judge sentenced Tregoning to life and Berry to 20 years hard labor. ¹⁹

- ¹¹ For a recent interpretation of the hangings, see George Hufsmith, *The Wyoming Lynching of Cattle Kate*, 1889. (Glendo: High Plains Press, 1993).
- ¹² The six men were: ring leader John Bothwell, M. Ernest McLean, Captain Robert M. Galbraith, John Henry Durbin, Robert Conner, Tom Sun, and a sixth un-named man—George Henderson according to Mari Sandoz. But according to Hufsmith, "However, we can count him out as a direct participant in these events because he was in Cheyenne."
- ¹³ Some believe the case was dismissed because three witnesses, Ralph Cole, John L. DeCory and Frank Buchanan, all disappeared. Cole was later found murdered. Sandoz believed Henderson got rid of all three witnesses; Hufsmith concurs.
- ¹⁴ Clay in his book sticks up for Henderson, "He had seen a lot of life." Clay describes him as silent, shrewd, able, given to occasional drink and had no fear. "He would rather hunt a thief than eat." Henderson had "run down a famous criminal in South America." More recently he had hunted down rustlers in Idaho. John Clay, *My Life on the Range.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 264.
- ¹⁵ Alfred J. Mokler, *History of Natrona County, Wyoming, 1882-1922.* (New York: Argonaut Press, 1966), 273.
- ¹⁶ A. S. Mercer in *The Banditti of the Plains*, also came out strongly against the big cattlemen. On the other side, John Clay, who was George Henderson's employer, describes the Henderson murder from the big cattlemen's point of view in My Life on the Range. Another version of the affair has been researched by Jean Mathisen in "Another Killing on the Sweetwater." According to Mathisen, Henderson discharged both Smith (Tregoning) and Sam Berry. Each time Henderson meets up with Smith (Tregoning) he tells him to take off his revolver and each time he refuses, the last time in Buffalo when disagreeing over the amount of the check. On October 4, 1890, for some reason Smith and Berry appear at the 71 Ranch and Henderson tells them to return the 71 horses they are riding. They reply they would in a day or two, and there were more angry accusations and threats, then Smith and Berry rode off to the Sheehan ranch. Three days later the horses hadn't been returned, hence the fateful visit Henderson made to the Sheehan ranch. Jean A. Mathisen, "Another Killing on the Sweetwater," Old West (Spring 1988), 42-45.
- ¹⁷ According to Mathisen, "Smith and Berry headed for Lander and turned themselves in to Sheriff Sparhawk." She noted that "the two men were brought before Justice Russell." (By 1910 Sparhawk was a forest ranger for the Teton Forest Reserve). Mathieson states that testimony was given by Steckles, Doany Barr, Sheriff Sparhawk, and Gilbert Stevens. The two men were ordered to be held without bail until the Grand Jury convened the following July, some nine months later.

Biographical and physical information about Sam Berry on his prison card. On the reverse was his photograph.

	STATE PE	.6.	Name Samuel L. Berry
HEIMHT	HEAD LENGTH	L FOOT	Crime Musdu in 2nd. Degr Age 39 Height 5 ft In
BMRARSTUO	HEAD WIDTH	L. MIDDLE FINGER	Weight 1445 # Build Gruy.
TRUNK	CHEEK WIDTH	L. LITTLE PINGER	Complexion Dark Moustache Born Ju Cal Jouria
	R. EAR LENGTH	L. FOREARM	Occupation Cow-Boy. Arrested
Theight 5 ft. 7 in.			Received from Frem out County Sentenced Aug. 16-1891. (20 yrd.
REMARKS:	Suilus Osbori Jon of	in Jan 3	inted to six years by For1895, Roleshed Dec. 27-18; ion of his sentines. (3m/1 in). Has vry lod, chick

Berry's role in the incident was described in conversations he had years later. In February, 1929, he told a former employer, Ed Farlow, that he had killed seven men in his life, four Mexicans and three white men, all for hire. In noting that he had "taken part in holdups, bank and train robberies," he said that he had killed a man in Nevada for \$500.²⁰ Of his role in the 71 incident, Berry told Farlow: "John Tregoning and I both shot about the same time at Henderson. I got \$100 for this but was to get \$300. It cost me a lot of time in the pen, too."²¹

A prison doctor listed and described his numerous scars on the "Description of Convict No. 5" when Berry entered the penitentiary. "Scar on left leg 3 in. above knee cap, 2 inch long, 1 inch wide. Scar on front of right leg 6 inches above knee cap. Small scar on back at upper point of the hip caused by broken bone. Two small scars on back of hand. One small scar on left side of head three inches above ear. Has very bad stricture."²²

Three years after Berry entered the Laramie prison, a pardon petition circulated on his behalf. Governor Osborne received the application for a pardon on August 9, 1894, but did not act on it.²³ A few months later, on October 8, 1894, Berry wrote a letter to Stephen I. Farwell of the State Board of Charities and Reform requesting a pardon. "I would go to the Throne of God itself and swear that I had no hand in the killing of George B. Henderson and I think that I have stood enough punishment for telling the truth on the Stand. I swear to you Uncle Stephe (sic) that I am innocent of any complicity whatever in the death of Mr. Henderson."²⁴

A month after Berry's letter, John Tregoning escaped from prison. He was never recaptured. Finally, on December 27, 1896, almost two years after his letter, Berry received the news he had sought. Estelle Reel, Secretary

of the State Board of Charities and Reform, discharged convict No. 5, S.H. Berry "by order of Governor Richards. His 20-year sentence earlier had been com-

¹⁸ Mokler, 274. Mokler errs as both their prison records state murder in second degree.

¹⁹ The Daily Boomerang, Laramie, for October 23, 1890, carried the story. A copy of the item was supplied by Elnora L. Frye. In addition to the above facts it said Doany Barr, Jim Westfall, Pete Steckles, and Berry carried Henderson's body to the house. Jim was a brother of Ben Westfall, also employed by the 71 ranch, who killed Jack Cooper, notorious cattle thief, late in February 1889. The verdict in that case was justifiable homicide. While he was in the Laramie prison, Butch Cassidy was a fellow inmate. Cassidy, sentenced July 19, 1894, for two years for horse stealing, was pardoned and released January 19, 1896. Although they spent about half a year in prison at the same time, no recorded comments from Berry come to light.

²⁰ Edward J. Farlow, "Sam Berry, An Outlaw Who Killed for Money," *Annals of Wyoming* 11 (January 1939), 50-52.

²¹ He also told Farlow, "the one that bothered me most was Bob McCoy." This would account for three white men for hire, but does not account for any during his association with the deadly Quantrill Raiders.

Wyoming Territorial Prison Records. After 1895, convicts were photographed with shaved heads. After 1900, they were pictured in black and white-striped uniforms. Others noted and recalled Berry's scars. Grace Seton-Thompson, (also known as Thompson-Seton), wrote an entire chapter about Berry in her book, A Woman Tenderfoot, where she mentions his scars: "Both his face and hands were scarred from many bar room encounters." Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson, A Woman Tenderfoot. (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1900), 117

²³ The petition was noted by Elnora Frye, authority on Wyoming prisons.

²⁴ The letter is filed with Berry's prison record, Wyoming Territorial Prison records, Wyoming State Archives. Why Berry used twice in the letter the familiar appellation "Uncle Stephe" is not known.

muted to six years by Governor Osborne and he was allowed 230 days for good conduct."25

After his release from the penitentiary, Berry traveled to northwest Wyoming, bypassing the Sweetwater and town of Lander. In the Absaroka Mountains, he set up a camp on a tributary of the upper Greybull river.

A. A. Anderson, a wealthy New York artist, who first visited the west in the 1880s, tells of meeting Berry around 1897. Anderson had started the Palette ranch, the last one up the Greybull river, and he rode down to Sam Berry's camp on Rose Creek, nine miles downriver. After talking with Berry, Anderson hired him as a horse wrangler.²⁶

About this time Berry moved from the Upper Greybull to the North Fork of the Shoshone. There, in the fall of 1901, Colonel William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody hosted a special hunting trip for a few of his closest friends. They pitched their camp where Three Mile Campground is located, a few miles below the junction of Middle Fork and North Fork. Sam Berry was among the party. Forest Ranger Frank Hammitt, North Fork rancher Pat Kelly, and 12-year-old Art Braten, son of Walter Braten, visited the camp and joined in the Sunday services conducted by Cody's good friend Reverend Beecher and all raised their voices singing Christian hymns.

On July 1, 1902, Anderson was appointed Special Forest Superintendent for northwest Wyoming. However, as early as 1899, his conservation policies greatly angered the sheepmen who set fire to the grass and forest near his place in September of 1902. In July, 1903, unknown arsonists burned his home to the ground. It is possible that Anderson, well aware of his unpopularity, hired Berry for protection. Anderson could not be called cowardly. He had courageously faced off grizzlies and killed them almost at arm's length.

The naturalist-artist Ernest Thompson Seton and wife Grace were friends of A. A. Anderson and he invited them on a fall hunting trip in 1898 on which Sam Berry worked as cook and horse wrangler. Grace wrote of Berry: "Nice man, that cook—he confessed with pride to many robberies and three murders! Only a month before engaging as a cook on this trip, he had been serving a lifeterm for murder: but had been released through some political pull..." She commented on Berry's scars on his face and hands, presumably from many bar room encounters. She said he dated most of his remarks by the period he was "rusticating" in the pen.

Grace Seton described an episode on the pack trip when Anderson and Ernest Seton went off hunting and Grace was left alone in camp with Sam. To bolster her courage she set up a target at fifty yards and started target practicing with her .30 -.30 rifle. She wrote that Berry "took his six shooter and put a half dozen bullets in the bull's eye off hand." He also told her "a succession of blood curdling adventures over which the big, big, 'I' had dominated." True, Sam Berry bragged a lot, but proved a crack shot at any target. And after over five years in the pen, he must have relished his freedom and been in a jubilant mood.

When the hunters returned at the end of the day, Grace chided her husband for leaving her with Berry. Ernest replied, "Do you think I don't know those wild mountaineers? They are perfectly chivalrous, and I could feel a great deal safer in leaving my wife in care of that desperado than with one of your Eastern dudes." Quite true, the old timers would agree. Ernest himself got enough material to write an article, "Berry and the Mustang."

As early as 1899, Sam Berry, the former outlaw and convict, was commissioned a deputy game warden. He seemed to have taken the position lightly, however. A. T. Chamberlain, first supervisor of the Shoshone Forest Reserve, wrote to Senator Frank Mondell in 1899, and later, to Governor DeForest Richards in Cheyenne about certain abuses in the forest reserve. Chamberlain in his "whistle blower" letter wrote, "I know of the instance in Stinking Water where the game warden has been taking out several hunting parties this fall and he killed a large number of elk and deer and saves only the hides, horns, and teeth, leaving all the four quarters in the hills to rot." In another paragraph he wrote, "There was one artist... .you can trace his course through the mountains by the dead carcasses." Substitute the name Sam Berry for "game warden" and A. A. Anderson for "one artist." 28

In the fall of 1902 Berry and Walter Braten established a camp where Pahaska Teepee later was built. Braten built a log cabin there and the place was called Berry and Braten Road ranch. The two staked out a mining claim on the Middle Fork of the North Fork, but some suspected it might have been a front for game poaching.

During 1902 and 1903, Berry was busy taking out pack trips and hunting parties. Despite his new-found success, he continued to flirt with the law. In April, 1902, he helped Lee Garrett escape from Deputy Sheriff James.

²⁵ Ibid. Obviously, Berry played no part in the "Johnson County invasion." He was in prison at the time.

²⁶ A. A. Anderson, Experiences and Impressions: The Autobiography of A. A. Anderson. (New York: Macmillan, 1933).

²⁷ Seton, 116.

²⁸ Letter, Chamberlain to Mondell, Mondell Papers, Wyoming State Archives, Division of Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce.

The case against him was discharged because the State could not produce any evidence against him. In August, 1902, Berry brought Carl Hammitt, brother of Frank, to town from the Carter ranch south of Cody, where Hammitt had been badly trampled by a horse.

While out hunting with a small party on the North Fork in December, 1902, Berry shot at a mountain lion preying on the same herd of elk Berry was stalking. Berry wounded the lion, putting it into an ugly mood. Berry's gun jammed, the lion grabbed and "set his cruel jaws" on Sam's leg. After a grueling hand battle, rolling down a slope, Berry succeeded in choking the lion to death. The newspaper account of the incident concluded: "He favors his leg but has a mountain lion hide." ²⁹

In 1904 Berry and Braten started using the newly built road to take tourists from Cody to Yellowstone Park. They called their firm the Shoshone Camping Company. The next year, Berry took a homestead on Trail Creek, northwest of Cody. There, he built a comfortable log cabin and corrals for his horses. He also placed the following advertisement in the Cody Enterprise: "Guide, Scout, and Hunter. S. H. Berry. Very best references furnished."³⁰

A. C. Newton lived downstream from Berry's homestead on Trail Creek. In 1904 George Gentner of Buffalo, New York, met Cody's founding fathers, Bronson Rumsey and George Bleistein, as well as A. C. Newton, when they were visiting in New York. The three men persuaded Gentner to go west. For the next year, he worked for Newton's Trail Creek Ranch, then sent for his wife and daughters Jessie and Alice. They arrived in May of 1905. The family lived for the next year in a tent house at Trail Creek while Gentner continued to work for Newton. Sam Berry became a family friend. Years later, Jessie Gentner Blackstone recalled that the first horse she and Alice rode was Sam Berry's horse, Silver. "Sam was like a kindly uncle to us girls," she said.³¹

About the same time, in the spring of 1905, Berry accepted a contract "to get three men" over in the Thermopolis/Owl Creek country. As he told about it a quarter century later, "My contract was for \$1000 each and the evidence that I had done the job was to deliver an ear." He did not say who put up the money, however. Prominent area stockmen were suspected. In 1899, Jacob Price, long time superintendent of the Embar Cattle Company, had advertised a "\$250 reward for cattle rustlers" in a Thermopolis paper, but no record exists to implicate him in hiring Berry six years later. So

The three targets of the contract were three suspected rustlers, Bob McCoy, Kize Eads and Frank James. ³⁶ An unknown assailant shot McCoy from a small stone and dug-out shack, on July 3, 1905, late in the day. ³⁷ The

next day, Deputy Sheriff Gryder and search party pulled McCoy's body from the river, the right ear gone, and a nose-bag filled with rocks tied around the neck. The body revealed McCoy had been shot twice, once through the right side and the second shot through the front, entering the heart. The ear had been nailed to Kize Eads' door.³⁸

Historian Dorothy Milek wrote years later: "An official verdict was never given as to the assassin. In fact, the whole subject was dropped as far as charges or any further news items in local papers. Only the verdict of gossip was left to name the man who pulled the trigger."

In 1929, Berry told Ed Farlow about the incident. "I shot Bob about dark behind a little log house. He fell from his horse. I went up to him and he was still alive and recognized me. He gave me an awful look and it has bothered me ever since." He added that he shot McCoy again and cut off his right ear, buckled the rockfilled nose-bag about his neck and rolled him in the river. The ear provided proof he had fulfilled his contract. After he got the money, Berry said he went on a month long drunk in Cody, ending up broke and sober.

Since his money had been squandered he probably

²⁹ Wyoming Stockgrower and Farmer, December 30, 1902.

³⁰ Cody Enterprise, May 4, 1905.

Author's interview of Jessie Gentner Blackstone, March, 1995.
 Farlow, 51.

³³ According to the *Wyoming State Journal*, September 11, 1932, "The killing was a direct result of rustling activities in this section and that an association of stockmen had signed an agreement to stop all rustling."

³⁴ According to Otto Franc's diary, in 1892, Otto Franc and Henry Lovell had tackled the rustler problem, but Otto Franc died in 1903. A list of the big ranchers does not necessarily implicate them in Berry's contract, but some of them were. J. D. Woodruff of the Embar sold out to Colonel and Captain Torrey. Ashworth and Johnson ran the Mill tron. George A. Baxter of the LU on Grass Creek sold out in 1887. Dickinson and "Bear" McClellan with 1/4 brand ranched near Ten Sleep. W. P. Noble, ranched near Ten Sleep, John Luman at Hyattville and Henry Lovell took an active role against rustlers but Lovell died in 1903.

³⁵ Big Horn River Pilot (Thermopolis), February 15, 1899.

³⁶Some ranchers considered McCoy a "troublesome rustler." Dorothy Milek, "Who Killed Bob McCoy?" *True West* (Nov.-Dec. 1966), 25. Milek quotes old-timer Charles HeIt, who came to Thermopolis in 1899, as saying, "Bob McCoy, to my knowledge, never stole cattle from a poor man."

³⁷The site is directly across the Big Horn River, southeast of Thermopolis.

³⁸Milek. *The Wyoming State Journal*, September 11, 1932, states Kize Eads found a red flag tacked up (to his door?) warning him to leave the country within 24 hours, which he did. This is reminiscent of the skull and crossbones warnings Bothwell left for Jim Averell and Ella Watson over on the Sweetwater in 1889, seventeen years earlier.

went back to work guiding hunting and camping trips. Mention of him in the Cody area appears on June 1, 1906, when he rode with a small funeral group taking the ashes of Dr. D. F. Powell, "White Beaver," up on Red Butte northwest of Cody for burial, a spot only a few miles west of Berry's homestead.³⁹

In September 1906, Berry hired out as guide and outfitter for the elder Bronson C. Rumsey, Lyman Bass, and a Mr. Babcock, all from Buffalo, New York. The next year, Berry was guide and hunting mentor for young B. C. "Bob" Rumsey. While hunting bear with Berry on Red Creek, a tributary of the upper North Fork, Rumsey sent Berry back to camp with his horse, saying he was going down the creek on foot and would meet Berry at the mouth of the creek at 6 o'clock. Rumsey shot a bear, skinned it out and started hiking out, very late. Berry came looking for him and explained to the young Easterner the importance of being at the appointed meeting place on time. It was a lesson Rumsey never forgot.

Berry was injured in a fire, possibly the devastating Cody fire of 1907 in which a half block of at least seven business structures was consumed. Thurston recalled, "He always felt someone was out to get him. Once in Cody while helping to fight a fire he believed someone came after him with an ax. He fended off the blow with his left arm and was struck on the left wrist with the ax which cut the tendons. Afterwards he had to have someone roll his cigarettes for him."

Bob Rumsey recalled Berry's fire injury differently. Rumsey said, "one time during a building fire in early Cody, Sam Berry was helping fight the fire and cut his hand breaking a glass window." He explained that Berry's hand never healed properly. Bob's father, Bronson Rumsey, and George Bleistein took Berry to see a specialist in their home town of Buffalo, New York. They paid for his stay at the Iroquois Hotel, but one night Berry went on a wild spree. Rumsey and Bleistein put him on the train and sent him back to Cody.

Sometime after the McCoy murder, Berry built a hide-out on Trail Creek, three miles above the Trail Creek ranch, a distance away from his homestead cabin. It faced down-country toward Cody and was invisible from the road.⁴⁰

From 1907 to 1911, Harry Thurston served as district ranger on the North Fork. He recalled that Berry poached game and outwitted the rangers. Thurston remembered if anyone did anything to offend Berry, he had a way of saying, "You'd better be careful or I will dry-gulch you." Nonetheless, he seemed to have friends among local authorities. Harry E. Miller, district ranger from 1912 to 1913, wrote of Berry, "He was a friend of mine, as ornery as he was."

For a time in 1912 he teamed up with tall, lanky Denny Start on the North Fork to trap, but returned to the Rumsey-Ferguson ranch as a winter caretaker. Little is known of his activities in those years, but the following summer, Mr. and Mrs. Bob Rumsey and Betty, who were holidaying at Pahaska, walked over to Sam's camp to have supper with him one Sunday.⁴²

On May 8, 1914, the United States officials charged Berry, Hardy Shull, and William Hawkins with killing elk inside Yellowstone National Park. Chief witness was Ranger R. W. Allen of the Shoshone National Forest, but when the case came to trial in November 1914, Sam Berry could not be apprehended. It seems Berry had shot the elk; Hardy and Hawkins had only transported the carcass. The case was dismissed. The next winter, Berry came out of hiding and worked as winter caretaker at the Trout Creek Ranch on the lower North Fork.

By 1920 conditions were changing. A new breed of forest rangers, trained by the book, started enforcing the

³⁹ It is understandable Berry may have felt a special bond with White Beaver, both having been born in Kentucky in the same year, 1847. Dr. Powell had a long and close contact with his friend, Colonel Cody, and as Cody wanted to be buried atop Cedar Mountain, White Beaver chose Red Butte, close enough so they, or their spirits, could commune with each other across the canyon. The group had to ride because the sides of Red Butte are too steep for a wagon or buggy. Folk tales from this event referred to the group as a "crowd of revelers." In the ascent the container of ashes fell to the ground and the ashes spilled. This could have happened if they tied the container behind a saddle because the horses lunging up the steep incline could have dislodged it. The story goes that Sam Berry went back and collected the spilled ashes. See Eric Sorg, "Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief: The Life of Frank Powell, Medicine Man," Wyoming History Journal 67 (Summer 1995), 46-47. George T. Beck gave the eulogy at Powell's grave site and a long version of it appeared in the local newspaper. Reverend W. O. Harper, Cody Presbyterian minister, served as "chaplain" for the service. W. O. Harper, "Early Days of the Presbyterian Church of Cody, Wyoming," 4, Park County Archives.

⁴⁰ By the 1950s it showed weathering but stood intact. It had three sides in an arroyo. The front, facing south, had a window, a door, and a flat roof. Neighbors said "Two-horse Johnson" lived there last before a cloudburst washed it out years ago, but it was photographed before it washed away.

⁴¹ Thurston papers. Walt Hoffman said his folks came to Cody 1908 and stayed at the Dr. Chamberlain homestead, up Trail Creek, while they looked the country over for a location to take up a homestead. In driving past Berry's place Mrs. Hoffman became so frightened by the stories about the outlaw it may have influenced their decision to file on a homestead farther north, on Blaine Creek on the way to Sunlight. Interview of Walt Hoffman, March 1, 1995. Hulda Nelson Johansson first met Sam Berry in 1910 when they both worked at the Rumsey-Ferguson ranch on upper Sage Creek near Carter Mountain. He did not scare her. She said it was funny to watch him chew his food with his few remaining teeth.

⁴²B. C. "Bob" Rumsey file, Park County Archives. The entry is for July 13, 1913.

laws. Wyoming now had efficient game wardens. They cracked down on Berry and he got into trouble killing game out of season. He slipped away and headed for Fremont County. He had not worked there as a cowboy since 1890. He was now in his seventies and getting quite crippled. Ed Farlow said, "He worked for our sheep outfit for several years, pulling camp and doing whatever he could. He had a crippled hand and his age was against him." ⁴³

Farlow saw Berry in mid-February 1929, in a Lander hotel. Berry had come to town to see Dr. Paul Holtz. It was at this time he unburdened his soul with stories of his outlaw days, and said, "I am so near the end of my rope now, they [the law] won't bother me."

A few days later he was taken to the county home where he died on March 10, 1929. His body was buried the next day in the Lander cemetery. Dr. Holtz wrote on his death certificate that he died from myocardial decompensation and mitral insufficiency with nephritis. Holtz listed his occupation as sheepherder. Berry would have felt this demeaning—he would have preferred cowboy, or hunter.

The Sam Berry that Bob Rumsey talked about in his 1967 interview with Jack Richard bore little resemblance to the feeble old man in Lander in 1929. Rumsey called him, "a rough character with a deep guttural voice. He coughed a lot, slept lightly, and always with a six

shooter under his pillow."⁴⁴ Harry Thurston wrote in his memoirs, "He always felt someone was out to get him." Thurston described him as well built and balding. He had a deep penetrating eye and deep voice."⁴⁵

Were all of his stories true? Did he escape punishment for most of his illegal activities, including murder? No one will ever know for certain. The name of the mountain meadow in the Absarokas leaves evidence of Cody's outlaw who, like many others in the Old West, found friendly territory far from the crowds. What little else remains are the myths and stories about Sam Berry's colorful life.

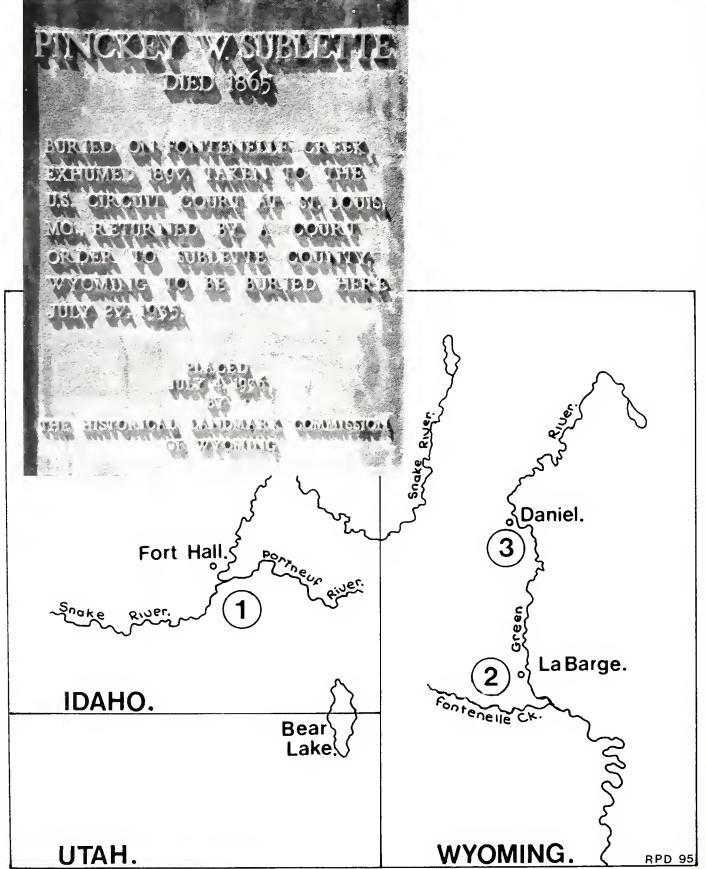
Ester Johansson Murray is a native of Cody, the daughter of an old-time guide on Park County dude ranches. She is a graduate of the University of Wyoming. Her previous publications include "Short Grass and Heather: Peter McCulloch in the Big Horn Basin," published in Annals of Wyoming in 1979.

⁴³Farlow, 51.

⁴⁴B. C. "Bob" Rumsey file, Park County Archives. Rumsey remembered Berry having a horse named Romeo.

⁴⁵ Thurston papers.

A Burial of Convenience? The Story of



the Pinckney W. Sublette Graves

By Dorothy B. Duffin

t seems fitting that the final resting place for the earthly remains of a mountain man should be on top of a windswept bluff overlooking the site of the Green River Rendezvous. The view from this height of snow-capped mountains, clear streams, and grassy prairies, appears unchanged since the days when Indians, trappers, and the occasional missionary gathered to trade and socialize with one another for a few short weeks. ¹

This particular bluff, named the "Prairie of the Mass" by Father Pierre DeSmet, is located near Daniel in Sublette County, Wyoming. A granite cross marks the site where DeSmet celebrated the first Catholic Mass in Wyoming in 1840.²

A short distance from the DeSmet monument stands a large, pink granite boulder with a bronze inset which declares this to be the grave of Pinckney W. Sublette. (See inscription, facing page)

Behind the simple statement lies an intriguing story, a story that spans more than a century in time and one that raises serious questions as to the identity of the occupant of the grave.

The map shows locations of three important sites in the Pinckney Sublette story.

1 In this area, near the site of old Fort Hall, the Samuel Tulloch party was attacked and Pinckney Sublette was killed 2 The "P.W.S" tombstone was found at this site, about a mile from the mouth of Fontenelle River, on the north bank. 3 Perry Jenkins selected this location, at the DeSmet Prairie Mass site, overlooking the 1836 Rendezvous site, for the reinterment of the remains of "P.W.S." The monument marking the location is pictured. The marker reads:

PINCKNEY W. SUBLETTE DIED 1865

BURIED ON FONTENELLE CREEK, EXHUMED 1897. TAKEN TO THE U.S. CIRCUIT COURT AT ST. LOUIS, MO. RETURNED BY A COURT ORDER TO SUBLETTE COUNTY WYOMING TO BE BURIED HERE JULY 27, 1935.

PLACED JULY 4, 1936

BY THE HISTORICAL LANDMARK COMMISSION OF WYOMING

the fur trade and has been given to many landmarks in the West. Curiously, only Pinckney, the least known of the five brothers, has been honored by a monument in his name. The way in which this came about is even more curious.

Pinckney W. Sublette's story began in Kentucky, in Crab Apple Settlement about thirty-five miles from Lexington, where he was born in 1812 or 1813 to Philip and Isabel Whitley Sublette. In 1818 Philip moved the family to Missouri. Isabel's brother, Solomon Whitley, accompanied them, and both families settled in the valley of Femme Osage near St. Charles. In 1820 Philip Sublette died and, in 1822, Isabel followed. William, the eldest son, then became the head of the family. In 1823 he answered an advertisement for "enterprising young men" and joined William Ashley's expedition to the Rocky Mountains. William Sublette did well in the fur trade and soon became the friend and associate of William Ashley.³

After William left in 1823, Pinckney, who was described as "delicate" and already showed signs of respiratory weakness, was sent to live with his uncle, Solomon Whitley. He was a poor scholar. At fifteen, he was still at school and although a schoolmate later recalled that he was "the biggest boy in his crowd," he was unable to read or write. 4

¹ On June 25, 1936, a monument commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the crossing of the Continental Divide by Narcisa Prentiss Whitman and Eliza Hart Spalding was dedicated in Rendezvous Park at Daniel, Wyoming, below La Prairie de la Messe.

² In 1925 the Knights of Columbus erected a cruciform altar at the site of "La Prairie de la Messe" on top of the bluff. Mrs. Cyrus Beard, "Some Early Wyoming History West of the 108th Meridian," *Annals of Wyoming* 3 (October, 1925), 133.

³ Ancestry of Solomon P. and Pinckney Sublette, Western Historical Collection, University of Missouri-Columbia, Columbia, Mo.

⁴ John L. Shaw testimony, "Whitley Heirs case," Finding of Facts and Law, Records of the Circuit Court of St. Louis, Missouri, June 18, 1900. Copy in Perry Jenkins Papers, microfilm H-214, Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Wyoming Department of Commerce.

But William had plans for his young brother. One day in the spring of 1827 he went to the school and took Pinckney away with him. When the caravan left St. Louis on April 12, William and Pinckney Sublette were among the forty-six men accompanying it. The fur company followed the Oregon Trail route through the Platte Valley and over South Pass. The 1827 rendezvous was held at Bear Lake near present-day Laketown, Idaho.⁵

It is not known why William decided to take his young brother out West with him that year. A number of considerations may have influenced his decision. Acutely aware of his brother's frail health, he may have felt that the outdoor life would be of benefit to him. William may have taken pity on Pinckney's surely unhappy situation at school and rescued him from the tedium of the classroom.⁶

At the rendezvous, Pinckney witnessed the usual scenes of excess which took place annually. Also, he would have been able to mingle with such great mountain men as Jim Bridger, Robert Campbell and the legendary Jedediah Smith, all of whom attended that year.⁷

By the thirteenth of July, the rendezvous was over. The men broke up into small groups to begin the serious business of trapping beaver. William entrusted his young brother to the care of veteran trapper Samuel Tulloch, described as "a man of the strictest integrity and truthfulness."8

In spite of the joint occupancy treaty between the United States and Britain, the Hudson's Bay Company was reluctant to allow the American trappers access to territory the company still perceived as belonging to Britain. The winter of 1827 was the worst on record and furs were scarce. Competition between the rival fur companies was at fever pitch, and both parties were highly suspicious of the other's motives.

Peter Skene Ogden, leader of the Hudson's Bay Company trappers, was almost paranoid in his belief that the Americans were plotting against him. Ogden, explorer, trapper, and trader, was a veteran of the old Northwest Fur Company. His courage, resourcefulness and ability to deal with people made him one of the Hudson's Bay Company's most valued employees. 10

The Americans resented the over-bearing attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company. Ashley was convinced that their policy of buying pelts from the Indians, with no questions asked, was responsible for the numerous attacks on his trappers. 11

The Tulloch party, including Pinckney, traveled north and spent some months trapping in the Snake country of northern Idaho. When the weather got too bad, they started south, and met a party of Hudson's Bay Company men under Ogden's command near the mouth of the Portneuf River. Ogden wrote on December 24, 1827: "The American party of six joined us, their leader, a man named Tullock [sic], a decent fellow." 12

The unusually severe weather brought extreme hardship. It was impossible for supplies to get through. The Americans were forced to stay in camp with the Hudson's Bay Company men for almost four months due to the heavy snow. Growing increasingly anxious to retrieve their caches of furs but unable to leave camp, the Americans tried unsuccessfully to obtain snowshoes. They were frustrated in their efforts by the suspicious Ogden.

After several abortive attempts, the Tulloch party manufactured their own snowshoes and were finally able to leave the uneasy hospitality of the rival Hudson's Bay Company camp. Ogden's journal entry for March 26, 1828, reads: "The Americans (now five in number)...with us since December, departed for Salt Lake." Three or four days later, about twenty miles

⁵ J. Cecil Alter, *Jim Bridger*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1925), 94. The spring assembly of the fur traders' caravan had become an annual event. "In the month of March, 1827," wrote General Ashley, "I fitted out a party of sixty men; mounted a piece of artillery on a carriage which was drawn by two mules. They marched to or near Grand Lake, beyond the Rocky mountains ...arriving June 13, 1827."

⁶ Records of the Circuit Court of St. Louis, Mo., June 18, 1900. Jenkins Papers, 8,

⁷ Alter, 94.

8 Excerpt from a letter, Robert Campbell to Gouverneur K. Warren, cited in Alter, 60. The Scottish pronunciation of "Tulloch" sounded like "Tullock" and was often spelled that way. Charles Larpenteur, Forty Years a Fur Trader, (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1933), gives a description of Tulloch: "[w]e reached Fort Cass, then in charge of Mr. Tulloch, who was a man possessed of good common sense, very reliable, and brave withal. He was called the Crane by all the Indians, on account of the extreme length and slenderness for which he was remarkable - almost a curiosity he was extremely popular among the Crows, and well liked by the mountain men."

⁹ Hunter Miller (ed.) Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States. (Washington, D.C., 1931), 660; Clifford M. Drury, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and the Opening of Old Oregon. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1973) I, 278, fn.

¹⁰ Robert C. Johnson, *John McLoughlin, Father of Oregon.* (Portland: Metropolitan Press, 1935, reprinted by Binfords and Mort, 1958), 52,53.

11 Letter from William H. Ashley to Thomas Hart Benton, Jan.11, 1829, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., cited in Dale L. Morgan, Ed., *The West of William H. Ashley 1822-1838*, (Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc., New York, circa 1964), 184.

12 Alter, 97.

13 Morgan, 295.

from the Hudson's Bay Company camp, the vulnerable little band of trappers was attacked by Indians who killed three of their party and robbed them of their furs and trade goods. Among those killed was Pinckney Sublette. Exactly one year had passed since Pinckney left the security of his school in St. Louis, Missouri, to join his brother William in the fur trade. 14

inckney Sublette's death in this incident was widely reported. An entry in the Ashley-Smith Explorations noted: "Among those killed was *Pinckney Sublette*, a relative of William Sublette." A short while after the incident, William Ashley, who suspected that the Hudson's Bay Company was party to the Indian attack on the Americans, wrote to Sen. Thomas Hart Benton, asking for military protection:

P. Sublette, J. Jondron and P. Ragotte were three of seven men under the direction of Mr. James Tullock [sic]. Mr. Tullock met a party of sixty men under the command of Mr. Ogden on Lewis's Fork (now the Snake River, Idaho) of the Columbia River, where the two parties remained some days. Mr. T. states that after he had left Mr. Ogden's camp some three or four days, but while within twenty miles of it, he was attacked by a party of thirty or forty Indians who killed the three men mentioned, plundered him of about four thousand dollars worth of furs, forty-four horses and a considerable quantity of merchandise. From some information received subsequent to this occurrence it is believed the Blackfeet Indians committed this outrage. ¹⁶

Peter Skene Ogden's journal entry for Saturday, May 10, 1828, demonstrates that the Hudson's Bay Company men, too, had a healthy respect for the Blackfeet Indians:

[We] saw the tracks of a large band of horses, and I strongly suspect the Black Feet have stolen them from the American trader... The day guard called to arms and at a distance we saw an armed party on horse-back making direct for our camp. We were in readiness in a second and having secured our horses, advanced to meet them, but in lieu of Black Feet they proved to be Plains Snakes who have just returned from Henrys Forks...and report as follows: "Two days since on our way here we came in contact with a party of Black Feet who had 30 horses some of them loaded with furs." Among the property they have, is the clothing...also, horses belonging to the American party who spent the winter with me. The furs they say were left on the Plains. This to us all is a

most convincing proof, they [the Americans] have been pillaged of all they had, and no doubt in my mind they are all murdered. Knowing what blood-thirsty villains the Blackfeet are and also how careless the Americans are, I am of the opinion that not one has escaped... The sight...caused a general gloom over the camp. Probably from the same dangerous quarter we are going to, we may be doomed to the same fate. God preserve us....¹⁷

There is a significant footnote to Ogden's journal entry of February 17, 1828, which quotes from an account dictated by Robert Campbell in 1870. Robert Campbell was one of William Ashley's fur traders and he and William Sublette became lifelong friends and business partners. Both attended the 1827 Rendezvous and it is possible that Campbell met Pinckney Sublette there. Campbell's journal entry states:

We travelled to the mouth of Portneuf where Fort Hall was subsequently built. There I found Mr Samuel Tullock with a party of trappers and a brother of Sublette was with him - also Mr Peter Skeen [sic] Ogden, with a portion of the Hudson's Bay Company trappers, all encamped together, snowbound. They could go no further. Tullock, when the winter broke up, in the spring, was attacked by Blackfeet up the Portneuf river. The attack occurred in the morning, and they were robbed of all their horses, and had four men killed, Sublette's brother among them. He was known as Pinckney Sublette. ¹⁸

Pinckney W. Sublette was killed by a band of Blackfeet Indians by the banks of the Portneuf river, near the site of old Fort Hall, in March of 1828. The evidence for this seems to be overwhelmingly conclusive.

illiam Sublette and his brothers, Milton, Andrew and Solomon, continued their association with the lucrative fur trading business and other ventures, amassing considerable money. After years of ill health and the amputation of a leg, Milton Sublette died in 1837 and was buried at Fort Laramie,

14 Ibid. LeRoy R. Hafen, Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West 1, 344; "Listing of Persons Killed belonging to the Parties of Wm. H. Ashley and Smith, Jackson & Sublette & Co.," The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

15 J. Cecil Alter to Perry Jenkins, May 4, 1935. Jenkins Pa-

16 William H. Ashley to Thomas Hart Benton, Jan.11, 1829, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

17 Peter Skene Ogden, *Snake Country Journals, 1827-28 and 1828-29.* (London: Hudson's Bay Records Society, 1971), 81.

¹⁸ Anne Morton, Head Archivist, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Manitoba, Canada, to author, September 23, 1992.

Wyoming. William Sublette married long time friend, Frances Hereford, in 1844.¹⁹ The following March, he lost his battle with tuberculosis and died at a hotel in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, while on his way to Cape May, New Jersey, in a final desperate attempt to find a cure. Andrew Sublette was killed by a wounded bear while hunting in the mountains of California in 1853.²⁰

Solomon Sublette married William's widow, Frances Hereford Sublette in 1848 and this union produced three children. The two boys died in infancy, and both Solomon and Frances died in 1857, leaving a frail little girl, Esther Frances (Fannie), as the sole survivor of that branch of the Sublette family. In 1861, at the age of eight, Esther Frances Sublette died.

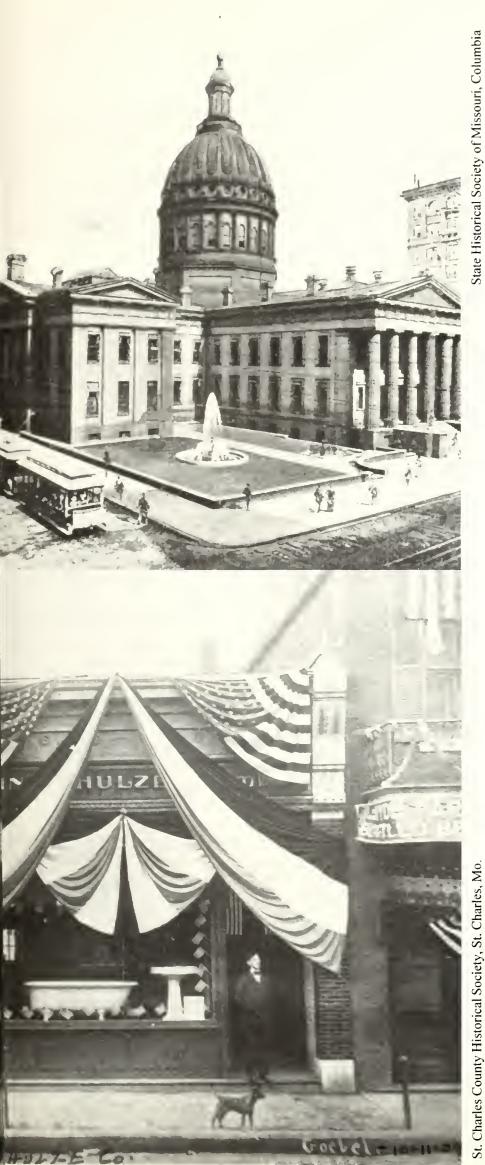
The three daughters of Philip and Isabel Whitley Sublette were also dead. Thus, most of the Sublette property passed to her mother's family, the Herefords, as her legitimate heirs.²¹ Upon the death of Frances (Fannie), this branch of the Sublette family also came to an end.

By 1895 some valuable tracts of land from the Sublette estate were still being distributed, and at that time, the legal title to the land was challenged by some descendants of Isobel Whitley Sublette's side of the family. That spring the "Whitley" heirs met in St. Louis and hired a lawyer, Judge Thomas B. Crews, to handle their case. A substantial amount of money, in the form of property, valued at \$27,000,000 by the *St. Louis Chronicle*, was at stake.²² At that point heirs from more distant branches of the Sublette family appeared with some dramatic information concerning the case. The "Sublette" heirs claimed that Pinckney W. Sublette had not died in 1828, but had been alive until 1865.

Mrs. S. M. Ewart, a Sublette heir who lived in Sedalia, Missouri, said this fact had come to light in a conversation she had with John Clopton, who also lived in Sedalia. Clopton, formerly a public administrator for Pettis County, Missouri, had been in the Confederate service during the Civil War. He took the oath of allegiance while a prisoner of war at Alton, Illinois, after which he went west in 1864. It was at that time that Clopton said he met a man he believed to be Pinckney W. Sublette. After this chance conversation with Mrs. Ewart, Clopton's deposition was taken. In it, he stated that at a crossing of the Yellowstone River in Wyoming, he had met a white man with a band of Indians. The guide called this man "Pinckney Sublette" and others called him "Bill Sublette" and at the time, the man was leading the life of a trapper. Clopton said they were together five or six hours, that he had never known him before or met him since.²³

(Right): Old Courthouse, St. Louis, where the remains from the gramarked "P.W.S." were taken as evidence to settle the Sublet estate. (Below): The building on the left was the home of Pinckney Sublette in St. Charles, Mo., where his family moved in 1817. The mafloor was the Sublette and Morgan Tavern which boasted the first b liard table in St. Charles.





A short time later, a will, purportedly made by Solomon Sublette, was sent to the lawyer's offices. There was no accompanying note, and the postmark showed it had been mailed from a train between Kansas City and St. Louis. The will had been witnessed by James S. Thompson of Springfield, Missouri, who claimed he had been a friend of Solomon Sublette.²⁴

The will stated, in part, that Solomon Sublette left all his property to his wife Frances, "... and that at her death, all of said property to my daughter Esther Frances (Fannie) and if she died single and unmarried and without issue, to my brother Pinckney W. Sublette, if living and at his death if single and unmarried and without issue, to my next of kin on my father's side..."²⁵

Lawyers for the Sublette heirs sought other witnesses. They obtained a deposition from James S. McKindey who said he had gone west in 1863. He said he was working in 1865 on the Green River between Fontenelle and La Barge creeks. There, he met a man who said his name was Pinckney Sublette, a brother of William, Solomon and Andrew Sublette. McKindey said the man was sick. Soon after, he died and was buried about a mile and a half above the mouth of the Fontenelle. McKindey said that he did not attend the funeral, but that he saw the grave afterward. 26

Judge Crews, who represented the Whitley heirs, traveled by stagecoach to Opal, Wyoming, and from there to the Fontenelle Valley to locate the grave of Pinckney W. Sublette. The land at the mouth of Fontenelle Creek was owned by Judge Clarence L. Holden. The Holden family remembered seeing rem-

²⁰ Unidentified newspaper clipping, Jenkins Papers.

²² Sunder, 236. Sunder states that this was a gross evaluation of the property but it was indicative of the returns anticipated by the participants in the court case.

²³ Findings of Fact and Law, Records of the Circuit Court of St. Louis, Missouri, June 18, 1900, in Jenkins Papers, 6.

²⁴ Unidentified newspaper article, Jenkins papers, 4.

²⁵ Records of the Supreme Court of Missouri, Vol. 319, p.119, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

²⁶ Findings of Fact and Law, Records of the Circuit Court of St. Louis, Missouri, June 18, 1900. Jenkins Papers, 7.

¹⁹ John E. Sunder, Bill Sublette-Mountain Man. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 149.

^{21 &}quot;Pioneer Trapper's Skeleton in St. Louis Courthouse Closet," unidentified newspaper, Jenkins Papers, 3. "The little girl was taken in charge by relatives of her mother - the Herefords. Pinckney W. Sublette had not been heard from in many years. Rival guardians struggled for possession of the little girl and her fortune, as shown by records of the probate Court of St. Louis. She was carried to California by one faction, kidnapped by another and dragged from place to place until her delicate constitution gave way in 1861 and she died."

nants of old graves in the vicinity and took Crews to the area. There, assisted by members of the Holden family, Crews searched for the Sublette grave. Ella Holden, daughter of Judge Holden, was present at the search. She wrote: "Mr. Crews found a small piece of stone partly buried in the sod. Searching farther he found another piece of stone which fitted the first piece. Turning up a few shovels of sod my brother Clarence struck a flat stone and upon digging it out of the firmly packed soil, the stone was found to be oval shaped at one end and was nearly a foot in length. Brushing the soil from the face of the stone this inscription was plainly discernible: P.W.S. D. 1865." They excavated further and discovered a skull and larger bones. Judge Crews was satisfied that he had found the grave of Pinckney W. Sublette. He had the skeleton and headstone packed and labeled "Exhibit A" and "Exhibit B" respectively and sent to the Circuit Court of St. Louis, Missouri.²⁷

Crews then searched for those who had known Pinckney Sublette between 1828 and 1865. Crews wrote that he traveled extensively throughout the west and added:

I was often disappointed to find that those whom I sought were dead, but was rewarded by finding still living some who had not only known Sublette, but knew him at the time of his death, and knew his relations in St. Louis. The evidence seemed ample to establish the claims of our clients and to clear up the long mystery as to the fate of Pinckney Sublette.²⁸

The court hearings opened in February, 1900, to determine the date of death of Pinckney W. Sublette. The plaintiffs hoped to prove, by producing the remains of the grave on Fontenelle Creek marked "P.W.S. D 1865," that Pinckney Sublette had been alive at the time when the newly found Solomon Sublette will had been made.

In addition Clopton's testimony, whose recollection had been the first intimation that Pinckney was still alive at the time of the Civil War, and that of James S. McKindey, who had seen Pinckney's grave on Fontenelle Creek, the plaintiffs introduced additional witnesses and written testimony.

John B. Wade, of Sweetwater county, Wyoming, testified that he went west in 1850; knew Pinckney Sublette; met him on Henry's Fork of Green River; and several times on the Fontenelle; saw him last in July, 1862; stayed all night with him; did not know he had died.

²⁷ Mrs. Cyrus Beard, "Some Early Wyoming History West of the 108th Meridian," *Annals of Wyoming* 3 (October 1925), 132; Howard Holden to Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, March 10, 1925, Hebard Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming: "In regard to the coffin one could hardly call it such as it looked as though there had been a flat stone on each side of the body standing edge ways with a large one resting on top of these but the varments had evidently dug in to the body as we found the scull [sic] above the top stone and there was nothing left excepting the larger bones of the body. These we boxed up and shipped in a small wooden box."

28 Unidentified newspaper article, Jenkins Papers.





The Pinckney Sublette stone monument and the scene from the marker site where the 1836 rendezvous was held. Photos by the author.

Henry Perry, of Uinta county, Wyoming, testified that he went west in 1850; that he met a man named Picknin or Pickin Sublette at Fort Bridger, in 1863; was in camp with him for several days; next saw him on Green river in the summer of 1864; that Sublette lived on the Fontenelle; did not know he had died.

Charles W. Holden of Fontenelle, Wyoming, testified that he settled at Fontenelle in October, 1877, and has resided there ever since; that he knew of a solitary grave near the Fontenelle creek, about a mile from where it empties into Green River; that there was a stone standing near the grave with the letters "P.W.S." below them the letter "D" and the figures "1865."

Thomas B. Crews, one of the attorneys for the plaintiffs in this case, testified that he went west in the fall of 1897 in the interest of the plaintiffs; that he was present when the grave aforesaid was opened and that they found a human skeleton in the grave; he also testified to the stone and the letters and figures on it. ²⁹

Members of the Holden family also testified that they were present when the grave was found.

The defendants introduced evidence supporting their claim that Pincknev had died in Idaho in 1828.

John L. Shaw testified that he knew William Sublette, and Pinckney Sublette; that he went to school with Pinckney in St. Charles, Missouri; that in 1828 or 1829, William Sublette came to the school and took Pinckney away and took him west with him; that Pinckney was then sixteen or seventeen years of age, and was the biggest boy in his crowd; that Pinckney never returned from the west, and that in 1842 William Sublette told him, the witness, that Pinckney had been killed by the Indians; and that the witness understood from William Sublette that Pinckney and one companion left the trapping party and that the companion had returned to the party, but that Pinckney did not return because he had been scalped by the Indians. 30

A witness for the plaintiffs, Mrs. Mary Moore, who was a first cousin to Pinckney, testified that about 1847 she had had a conversation with Andrew, an older brother of Pinckney.

He said the Indians attacked them and all made their escape but Pinckney. I asked the question "Was he killed?" They said they didn't know. I said: "Didn't you go back and hunt for his body?" They said no; they were afraid the Indians would kill them; they didn't know what became of him; they didn't go back and hunt for his body." Mrs. Moore testified further that she heard nothing more about Pinckney afterwards.³ I

Mrs. Elizabeth A., Adair, testified that she knew Solomon Sublette, and that in 1857 Solomon told her

that he and his little son were "the only two Sublettes left."³² Both Solomon's daughter, Frances, and his infant son, William, were living in 1857. By only referring to his son, Solomon may have meant that they were the only two left who could perpetuate the name of Sublette.

The defendants also read the deposition of Isaac M. Yardell which had been taken by the plaintiffs. Yardell testified:

That in 1845 he left Cooper county, Missouri, for the west with four other persons, of whom Pinckney W. Sublette was one; and that Pinckney was then about seventeen years old; that he and Pinckney traveled or were together from 1845 until 1865, when Pinckney died in his presence; that Pinckney was about thirty or thirty-five when he died.³³

A receipt signed by Pinckney's mother, Isobel Sublette, and witnessed by him in 1821, was also introduced as evidence.

After considering the conflicting evidence, the Circuit Court of the City of St. Louis, Missouri, made its decision on June 18, 1900. It concluded:

That there were two entirely different Pinckney Sublettes; that the Pinckney who was the uncle of Frances lived in St. Charles county, and went west in 1829, and was killed by the Indians prior to 1842, and that his family never heard of him afterwards; the other Pinckney lived in Cooper county, and went west with Yardell in 1845 and died in 1865. The court believed the family version, and found that the Pinckney under whom the plaintiffs claim died prior to 1861, and therefore he could not have inherited from his niece Frances, who did not die until May 16, 1861.³⁴

In 1911 the Missouri Supreme Court upheld the lower court's decision to deny a new trial. The St. Louis Court refused to reconsider the case in 1926 and, two years later, the St. Louis Circuit Court refused to reopen litigation. By this time many of the people involved in the case had died, the value of the property was reduced by the advance of urban growth, and the box containing the remains of "P.W.S." lay forgotten in the St. Louis Courthouse.

²⁹ Records of the Circuit Court of St. Louis, Missouri, June 18,1900. Jenkins Papers.

³⁰ Ibid., 8.

³¹ *Ibid*.

³² Ibid., 9.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

he sworn testimony given in court strongly suggests that someone bearing the name "Sublette" had been seen by witnesses in the West during the 1860s. It is possible that other members of the extensive Sublette family were in the West during the gold rush and Civil War years.

An inscription, "W. Sublett, June 17, 1849," cut into the sandstone walls of Castle Rock along the route of the Oregon Trail in Wyoming, mystified historians for years. In recent years, the inscription was identified by historian Randy Brown of Douglas, Wyoming, as that of a 49'er from Pennsylvania who died before

reaching the gold diggings in California.³⁵

John Sublette (father of John Sublette early pioneer of Elk Mountain, Wyoming) carved his name on Scott's Bluff on his way West in the 1840s. It is believed that this John Sublette was a cousin of the five Sublette brothers.³⁵ His son, also named John Sublette, who became the first permanent pioneer of Elk Mountain, went West around 1863. He worked for the government, cutting and hauling wood for the military at Fort Laramie and later at Fort Halleck. This John Sublette also traveled in the areas between these forts, working on the railroads and scouting for many years. He claimed to be a brother of William, Andrew and Solomon Sublette.³⁶ It

may have been one of these Sublettes that the witnesses met. Over the years, the first name became confused.

Although the first permanent home in the Fonetenelle Valley was built by Justin J. Pomeroy in 1874, the family first moved into a small log cabin near the mouth of Fontenelle Creek. This dwelling had been built earlier by a sheepherder, John W. Smith, who had moved to a claim further up the valley. This cabin soon became too small and while searching for logs to build a larger house, the Pomeroys found another small log cabin near the banks of the Green River, evidence of even earlier habitation.³⁷

The occupant of the grave marked "P.W.S." lived

in this area, as well as the man who buried him, who must have been a literate man who knew the deceased well enough to be aware of his middle initial, and who carved those initials on a stone marker. Then there were the witnesses, John Clopton and James McKindey, and probably others who worked along the Green River. Emigrants on their way West also passed through the area.

By 1897 when Judge Crews came to search for the grave of Pinckney W. Sublette, many people had lived - and died - in the Fontenelle Valley. Writing of the search, Ella Holden said her parents recalled the lonely

grave, "but as there had been so many graves throughout that section of the country they had paid little or no attention to identification." To this day, unidentified graves still remain in the valley. 38

■ ublette County, in the western part of the state, was created in 1921, largely due to the efforts of Perry Wilson Jenkins, one of the state's most illustrious citizens, Perry Wilson Jenkins, former State Senator. Originally from Indiana, Jenkins contributed much to his adopted state of Wyoming during a long lifetime which included years of public service, many successful business



P. W. Jenkins

ventures and an impressive array of interests and hobbies. Among the latter was his deep and abiding inter-

³⁵ Castle Rock is located on the McIntosh Ranch, Hwy. 287, Fremont County, Wyoming. See *The Overland Journal of Alexander Love, Detailing His Trip Across the Plains From Pennsylvania To The Gold Diggings in 1849* (Collection of Randy Brown): "sunday June 17, started at 6. Drove 9m and nooned on Sage Crick. I killd an antilope. We see snow all the time on the south of the road. Drove 7 m. and camped by the Sweetwater. [The location of Castle Rock]... September 7, 1849. Hunted the ox all day. Staid with Sublets. The old man very sick. Died after I left." Mrs. Mary G. Bellamy to Perry Jenkins, undated letter. Jenkins Papers.

³⁷ Annals of Wyoming, 3 (October 1925), 47, 48 38 Ibid. p.63.

est in the early history of Wyoming. It was this love of history that inspired Jenkins to select the name "Sublette" for Wyoming's last-created county.³⁹

The Wyoming State Historical Society had been created in 1895. Recognizing the importance of the region in the westward expansion of the nation, Jenkins, along with a few other interested colleagues, formed the Sublette County Historical Society in 1935.

Despite the disparity of the evidence produced concerning the identity of Pinckney W. Sublette and "P.W.S." which resulted in the court's bizarre conclusion that there must have been two entirely different Pinckney Sublettes, Jenkins believed them to be one and the same. A few contemporary historians shared this view, believing Pinckney Sublette's more than thirty years' anonymity, during the peak years of the western migration, could be explained. One possibility was that Pinckney had "sold out" to the Hudson's Bay Company and spent many years trapping in northern Canada. Counting this theory, meticulous records were kept by the Hudson's Bay Company throughout the years and the archives staff could find no indication that Pinckney Sublette was ever in their employ or that such a transaction had occurred.⁴⁰

Another explanation would be that he might have been held captive by the Blackfeet Indians for many years and unable to communicate with the outside world. All journals of early explorers and trappers speak of the Blackfeet Indians as formidable foes. In those early days it appeared that they wanted no contact with the whites. It is unlikely they would have held a captive for a long period of time.

Another theory was that Pinckney had been living with the Indians by choice, had married and had a family. He may have become a tribal leader. Even if this had been remotely possible, given the uncanny ability of the mountain men to disseminate information among their brethren, it is unlikely that word of Pinckney's existence would not have reached William Sublette.

Sometime after the Sublette court case of 1928, Perry Jenkins conceived the idea of having the remains of "P.W.S." returned to Wyoming to be reburied in the Pinedale area. After obtaining a waiver from Lee Sublette, a distant family member, and promising to give the remains a proper Christian burial, Jenkins and Arthur G. Heyne, circuit court clerk, petitioned the circuit court of St. Louis, Missouri, for permission to remove the bones to Wyoming. The procedure was a lengthy one and it was not until May 20, 1935, that Heyne was able to write to Jenkins: "This closes an effort on my part for some six years to bury said re-

mains, and I feel satisfied that you will do your part in the matter."⁴²

On July 27, 1935, on the bluff overlooking the site of the trappers rendezvous, near Daniel, Wyoming, under the auspices of the newly formed Sublette County Historical Society and its president, Perry Jenkins, the remains of "P.W.S." were reinterred. Ex-Governor B.B. Brooks, former president of the Wyoming Senate Nels Pearson and historian Charles Kelly of Salt Lake City attended. A prayer was offered by the Rev. Fullerton of Rawlins and the site was marked by a granite boulder. ⁴³

Later, Charles Kelly described the event in a letter to a friend: "Two weeks ago I helped bury the bones of Pinckney W. Sublette, one of the famous Sublette brothers of St. Louis. He was originally buried at the mouth of Fontenelle Creek, north of Kemmerer, Wyo., but was dug up and shipped to St. Louis 40 years ago."44

The local newspaper reported: "A large and enthusiastic gathering of people from all sections of the State were in attendanceHon. Perry W. Jenkins of Big Piney was master of ceremonies and read a very interesting paper on the Rendezvous of 1835." 45

There is no record of the exact text of Perry Jenkins address, but from reports and correspondence concerning this event, he referred to Pinckney's many years of captivity by the Blackfeet Indians, the years spent trapping in northern Montana, his eventual return to the Fontenelle area in 1864 and his death and burial there.

The Wyoming Historical Landmark Commission said in their Fifth Biennial Report that: "Promptly at 4.30 p.m. on the ridge near the DeSmet Monument, the bones of Pinckney W. Sublette, after whom Sublette County was named, were placed in a grave with Christian burial rites ordered by the U.S. Circuit Court of St. Louis." 46

The following year the Commission planned to dedicate a number of historical sites, among them the

³⁹ Robert G. Rosenberg, *Wyoming's Last Frontier, Sublette County.* (Glendo: High Plains Press, 1990), 38.

⁴⁰ Morton to author, September 23, 1992.

⁴¹ Agnes Wright Spring to Perry Jenkins, Jan. 30, 1935. Jenkins Papers.

⁴² Arthur G. Heyne to Perry Jenkins, May 20, 1935. Jenkins Papers.

⁴³ Big Piney Examiner, August 1, 1935.

⁴⁴ Charles Kelly to Miss Martin, Aug. 12, 1935. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁴⁵ Big Piney Examiner, August 1, 1935.

⁴⁶ Fifth Biennial Report, Wyoming Historical Landmark Commission, 1935-36.

grave of Pinckney W. Sublette. J. S. Weppner, secretary of the commission, authorized a bronze plaque to be made by the Sheridan Iron Works to be placed on the granite boulder at the burial site at the time of the dedication on the Fourth of July, 1936.⁴⁷

It is interesting to speculate on the role played by Perry Jenkins in these events. Considered by many to be the leading authority on the Sublettes, Jenkins had all the available information concerning Pinckney Sublette. Heyne had sent him a typed transcript of the court case. The clerk had commented on the court's decision of the two Pinckney's, adding that there was substantial evidence to show that the bones were those of Pinckney Sublette. 48

Historian Grace Raymond Hebard, concerned with the ethics of burying the remains in a spot other than that from which they were taken, asked: "Have we any information that Pinckney was up there near Daniel with his brothers, and what evidence is there that he was?" There is no evidence that shows he was ever in the area.

In 1935, before the reburial at Daniel, Jenkins wrote to J. Cecil Alter, author and editor of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, requesting information concerning the death of Pinckney W. Sublette. Alter sent quotations from the Ashley-Smith Explorations, Ashley's letter to Sen. Thomas Hart Benton and excerpts from Peter Skene Ogden's journal and concluded his letter by saying:

Obviously we are forced to the conclusion that Pinckney Sublette was murdered the spring of 1828 within twenty miles of Snake River in Idaho, possibly on the Portneuf. Sorry it conflicts with your grave marker "P.W.S. - 1865" and possibly the location near Pinedale, Wyoming. 50

inckney's lengthy disappearance is the biggest flaw in the Jenkins theory. As an intelligent, educated man, it is difficult to understand why Perry Jenkins so completely ignored much of the evidence, preferring to believe a version that can only be called, at the very least, "far-fetched." The witnesses swore under oath that they had met a man named "Sublette" during the 1860s, but none spoke of this man having been held captive by the Blackfeet Indians for more than thirty years, a fact that surely would have surfaced during conversation with him.

Was Perry Jenkins aware of the full story before he received the report from Arthur G. Hayne and the information from J. Cecil Alter? If he were ignorant of the complete facts until that time, it would have put him in a difficult position. The remains of "P.W.S." had been handed over to him through the newly formed Sublette County Historical Society, an elaborate reburial ceremony had been planned to be attended by many dignitaries. Sublette County, named by him, was about to be enhanced by having the remains of Pinckney Sublette enshrined there.

After reading about the ceremony in the newspaper, Lee Sublette, of St. Louis, Missouri, wrote to Mr. Jenkins stating that the family had accepted Pinckney's death in 1828, and referring to the court case commented: ".... they just took Pinckney and made two out of him. That case put Tom Crewes [sic] on the way to success." Sublette continued: "Mr. Jenkins, I noticed an article in the paper, in this article it states your letter said there is some doubt as to the accuracy of the evidence presented in proof of the identity. It seems that you wanted to bury these remains then whether you knew if this man was a Sublette or not."51

Had Lee Sublette correctly concluded that this was indeed "a burial of convenience"? Was the story of Pinckney's sojourn with the Blackfeet Indians a convenient way of explaining his lengthy disappearance?

As time passed, stories about Pinckney grew more fanciful. A California woman, Mrs. Gertrude Ristrem wrote Jenkins in 1940:

My maternal grandmother was the daughter of Mary Ann Sublette O'Neil, first cousin of Pinckney Sublette, one of the first pioneers of Wyoming. He was captured in 1828, when a boy twelve years old, by the

47 *Ibid.* See also correspondence between J. S. Weppner and Sheridan Iron Works, from February 10 July, 1935. Records, Wyoming Historical Landmark Commission, Wyoming State Archives, Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Wyoming Department of Commerce.

48 Arthur G. Heyne to Perry Jenkins, May 25, 1936. Jenkins Papers. See also other correspondence between Heyne and Jenkins from Dec. 27, 1934 to May 20, 1935. Jenkins Papers.

⁴⁹ Grace Raymond Hebard to Perry Jenkins, July 11, 1935. Jenkins Papers.

50 J. Cecil Alter to Perry Jenkins, May 4, 1935. Jenkins Papers. This conclusion, the most logical one, is shared by most historians, including authors Dale L. Morgan and Fred R. Gowans, both authorities on the fur trade era, and John E. Sunder, biographer of William Sublette. See Dale L. Morgan, Ed., *The West of William H. Ashley 1822-1838*, (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc., circa 1964); The State Hist. Soc. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. Notes, Book II, No. 440; Fred R. Gowans, *Rocky Mountain Rendezvous*, (Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith Inc., 1985), 33; Sunder, 76.

⁵¹ Lee Sublette to Perry Jenkins, Aug. 2, 1935. The italicized sentence is omitted from the typewritten copy. Jenkins Papers.

Blackfoot Indians. My great-grandmother heard that he had lived with the Indians until his death about 1879. He was the chief of some tribe of Indians when he died in Wyoming. Could you tell me the correct year of his death; by what name was he known among the Indians; how was his identity established and if he fought against the United State Army at any time? Did he ever write his name or leave drawings, hoping to be traced by his brothers "Rocky Mountain Bill" Sublette, Milton, Solomon or Andrew, I have heard of strange drawings in caves in the west and often wondered if he had tried to communicate that way. 52

In his reply Perry Jenkins wrote:

Pinckney was born about 1809. There is no record of his marriage or of any children. He went west with William and was reported killed by the Blackfeet Indians in 1829 when about eighteen years of age. His reputed death was disputed and conclusive evidence was produced of his having died on Fontenelle Creek, Wyoming, in 1865......It does not appear that Pinckney tried to communicate with his brothers, although evidence points to his having visited Missouri in the '40s. He spent most of his life with the Blackfeet Indians in Montana. One who knew Pinckney in middle life spoke of him as 'a recluse trapper about 5'10' with dark hair and sandy beard.⁵³

An Oklahoma woman wrote Jenkins in 1949: "I noted in the newspaper item of the reburial of Pinckney that his two sons had guided the expedition to his grave, and that was the first mention of any children I had seen."54

Over the years myths became confused with fact. In 1951 Jenkins moved to have some of these "facts" incorporated in a privately funded bronze plaque to replace the existing tablet on the Pinckney Sublette monument. In a lengthy draft prepared by Mr. Jenkins it would state that Pinckney had gone west in 1829 and was captured by Blackfeet Indians near Fort Hall, returning to the Green River area in 1864 where he died in 1865. Restricted by the size of the existing plaque, a severely edited version was submitted by Jim Harrower of Pinedale, Wyoming. It read:

Pinckney W. Sublette Mountain Man - Trapper Came West with Rocky Mt. Fur Co. 1828 Captive of Blackfeet Indians for years Reinterred by Sublette County Historical Society 1935 55 The project was not completed and the original plaque remains on the monument. The headstone inscribed "P.W.S. D. 1865" disappeared from the St. Louis courthouse. Originally slated to be buried along with the remains at Daniel, Wyoming, no trace of the headstone was found and no more was heard of it.

ne of the more fascinating aspects of history is that it so often lends itself to individual interpretation. It is inevitable that much of the past will remain a mystery, but it is imperative that overzealousness in trying to solve these mysteries does not result in the facts being tailored to fit a prescribed pattern. It took Perry Jenkins many years to accomplish his project and he deserves commendation. Through his efforts, he perpetuated the memory of a young boy who would otherwise have been forgotten. He honored the name of the Sublette family who did so much to open the West for others and he gave dignity to the human remains that had lain neglected for so many years in the vaults of the St. Louis Courthouse. Regardless of who lies buried beneath the granite marker, be it callow youth, grizzled trapper or unknown pioneer, his story is yet one more patch in the colorful quilt of Wyoming's history.

52 Mrs. Gertrude Ristrem to Jenkins, October 11, 1940. Jenkins Papers.

53 Jenkins to Gertrude Ristrem, November 30, 1940, Jenkins Papers.

54 Hazel Lloyd to Jenkins, April 29, 1949. Jenkins Papers.

55 Jim Harrower to Jenkins, November 21, 1951. Jenkins Papers; Notes of Perry Jenkins. Jenkins Papers.

Dorothy B. Duffin was born and reared in London, England, and educated at Kilburn Lane Girls Aeademy, Paddington. She entered the Civil Service after graduation, working for the wartime Ministry of Supply in Westminster. In 1953 she emigrated to New Zealand where she continued her career in government service. Since settling in America in 1957, Dorothy and her husband Reg have traveled extensively in the Western United States. Now living in a suburb of Chicago, Dorothy is presently working on a biography of Capt. H. G. Nickerson, an early Wyoming pioneer.

Wyoming Memories

1996 Annual Trek, Wyoming State Historical Society, Weston County Sites

Editor's Note: The Wyoming State Historical Society was founded in 1953 and almost since its beginning, the annual trek has been the highlight of summer activities for society members and friends. For many years, local historians presented brief talks at various trek sites and the reports were printed in the following issue of Annals of Wyoming. With this 1996 trek, organized and sponsored by the Weston County Chapter, we revive this tradition of publishing the trek accounts. The editor thanks Dr. Mike Jording for supplying Annals with copies of the reports and the various writers for allowing us to reprint their reports of the talks.

June 29, 1996

The trek began at Newcastle where participants boarded buses and traveled to the site of the cemetery near the old town of Cambria.

Cambria Cemetery by Dr. Mike Jording

Cambria, Wyoming, in northeast Wyoming developed due to Burlington Railroad's need for coal. People from all over the United States and the world moved to the small town. Some came as single men, and some were married. Some brought families with them, and some began families in Cambria. And with the new life in the canyon, there also came death. A cemetery grew so that proper burials could be made and so that appropriate memorials could be erected to honor those people who ended their lives in this frontier land. Cambria Cemetery, like the town of Cambria, began with the need for coal and faded from memories when the mining prospects dwindled.

In 1896, the horse-drawn hearse would come out of the town up the steep canyon to the junction at Break Neck Road which we passed about one mile back on the road. Then, it would follow the same path that we followed this morning across the open meadows toward this cemetery. The hearse's first view of the cemetery would be as it crested the rocky ridge to the east. The people accompanying the funeral procession came up the canyon just west of the rocky ridge. It was a much shorter route, and the mourners would frequently arrive at the cemetery before the hearse.

We know dates on fewer than half of the people

buried in this cemetery. The only record of those persons buried in Cambria Cemetery comes from analysis of the grave markers. Anna Miller Museum files show that two studies of the markers were done, one by Leonard Cash and Neil Sweet and another study by Mrs. Darrell Brassfield. While some grave markers still give us information of the deceased and are what we consider permanent, many of the wooden crosses and sandstone markers have lost their identifying features.

Just as we don't know the identity of many of the people buried in Cambria Cemetery, we also don't know what the cause of death was in nearly all of the instances. Some legends exist about how people died. The names of two persons whose stones are illegible had interesting and similar fates. The story was that sandstone boulders fell and killed the men in separate accidents. Adorning the head of these unfortunate souls' gravesites are the actual stones that killed the men. Covered by about one hundred years of lichens and worn by wind, water and weather, the boulders shed no light as to the identity of the person buried there. When doctors work on a diagnosis, they, in the end, make an educated guess of the illness that affects an individual. When historians try to make sense out of the past, they make an educated guess from the facts that they can gather. So, let's look at some facts about the known deaths from Cambria Cemetery. There are several variables that affect analysis of grave markers such as in this cemetery, and those variables may lead to errors in interpretation of the results. Sampling errors could be based on wealth of those living in Cambria. For example, maybe only the wealthy could

afford stones of granite or decorative markers that withstood one hundred years of Wyoming weather. If so, then we would analyze only deaths of wealthy families. Another variable affecting data from this cemetery was the fact that not everyone who lived or worked in Cambria was buried in this cemetery. Some people chose for various reasons to buried elsewhere. There were many other cemeteries in the area, such as Boyd Cemetery north on the prairie or Greenwood Cemetery in Newcastle. Religious choice or affiliation with a fraternal organization may have affected whether permanent markers were erected. However, for the purpose of analysis, let us consider and rely on the premise that the legible markers represent a fair cross-section of the deaths that occurred at Cambria. If that is true, then it is fair to make generalizations about the lives and deaths at Cambria from 1889 to 1928. We might even generalize these same figures to other frontier towns.

Death was much more common to children then than it is today. Children under the age of two years old accounted for about 25% of the deaths. What was even more remarkable was that 91% of these children were actually one year old or younger.

Based on the legible gravestones, we can probably justify twenty-two newborn deaths. What that means is that at the time of delivery or very shortly after delivery, there was a significant chance of losing the new-

born. Obstetrical care during Cambria's existence practiced home deliveries; the doctor probably was not present at most deliveries and was summoned for only difficult deliveries. Hygiene was simply not as meticulous and rigid then as it is today.

Antibiotics were unavailable until the 1930s, well after Cambria mines were abandoned. Infectious disease likely claimed the majority of babies under two years old. Diphtheria, pertussis, tuberculosis, and pneumonia, all of which primarily attack the respiratory system, were the prominent killers of the young children. Today, we almost ignore those diseases because of the widespread immunization practices that are in place. However, during the years that Cambria was bustling, there were no vaccines, and there were no antibiotics. Diphtheria vaccine arrived in 1923; pertussis (whooping cough) vaccine arrived in the late 1940s; tuberculosis antibiotics, namely streptomycin, arrived in 1944; and pneumonia antibiotics, namely sulfa in the early 1930s and penicillin in the late 1930s, were not yet discovered when Cambria existed. and therefore were unavailable to people in Cambria. People did their best to help young children, but the toll was high. Only the lucky and strong ones survived.

Not only was labor and childbirth difficult and sometimes deadly for the infant, but mothers were at risk also. From the records that I have, 73% of the



Anna Miller Museum

Cambria Hotel, Cambria

deaths that occurred in women over the age of fifteen years occurred in women 18 to 45 years old. Almost half of those were late teenage to thirty-year-old women. Childbirth and its complications may be likely explanations for the mortality in this age group. Home-births with less than perfect hygiene, difficult and long labors, and prolonged bed rest during the postpartum periods undoubtedly led to the high number of deaths in this age group.

Medical history talks about epidemics in which large numbers of people were affected by a specific disease that caused great suffering or death. If one analyzes the records from Cambria Cemetery, you notice the high death numbers in various years, such as 1918 and 1914. Across the world an epidemic of "flu" infected the world and ended up killing more people (20 million) in 1918 and 1919 than were lost in World War I. Cambria was apparently not spared. One-third of the deaths for the five years 1914-1918 occurred in 1918. One can surmise that the "Spanish flu," as it was called at the time, contributed greatly to the number of deaths in Cambria during 1918.

There were other years that had extremely high death numbers. For instance, the year 1914 accounted for 30% of the deaths from 1914 to 1918. Other high death years were 1900-1902, 1906, 1908, and 1919-1921. The causes for these years of high incidence deaths are less well known than the flu epidemic of 1918. Infectious diseases, without a doubt, contributed largely to the sporadic increases in death during those years. There are no recorded medical facts accounting for Cambria's fluctuating death rate, and one can only guess that diseases like cholera, typhoid, tuberculosis, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and pneumonia contributed largely to the mortality in Cambria.

People that have an appreciation for the hardships of winter understand that life is a bit more risky during Wyoming's cold and snowy seasons. Ranchers often talk about their old livestock not making it through another season. Game biologists know very well the hardships of winter on wild animals. It is not surprising then to learn that the death rates were significantly elevated for the "wintry" months in Cambria. During the six months November through April, Cambria Cemetery's record showed 61% of its deaths while from May through October only 39% of the deaths. Surprising or not, illness and death is more likely during the winter seasons. Whether it was the harsh weather that killed or the infectious diseases like pneumonia or influenza that overcame people, Cambria suffered similarly as we do today.

Underground coal mining was a hazardous business, and injuries and deaths did occur in the Cambria Mines.

From The Cambria Mining Company Personal Injury Report 1891 to March 1915, one can trace the safety record of the underground coal mines. Over the twentyfour years covered in the report, 62 accidental deaths were recorded. That represents a rate of 2.58 deaths per year. The average age of the men that died was 32 years old with the age range being 15 to 63 years old. The most common cause of death in the record was from falling rock. In fact, falling rock accounted for 61% of the deaths. Only one death was accredited to smoke or gas inhalation. The mines were apparently free of poisonous gases. Several mines existed in the canyon, and a later speaker this morning will discuss that topic. However, death from falling rock in each of the mines was significant, ranging from about 54% of the deaths in the Jumbo Mine to 83% of the deaths in Antelope # 3 mine.

Tragedy can be defined in many ways. It could be the loss of a father or a mother. It might also represent the loss of several miners in one accident. However, the loss of a child or of several children grabs at our hearts probably more than any other loss. Cambria had its tragedies, and I would like to close with a story that began in 1895. Matt and Sophia Hill had a daughter, Maria, who was three years old. She died in April 1895. We are not certain why she died. In September 1895, Matt and Sophia were blessed with another daughter, Matilda. She lived but one month before she, too, died. The despair must have be great, but Matt and Sophia Hill continued their efforts to have children. The final chapter in this tragedy was the death of their newborn boy, Frederick, just short of a year later in August 1896. It was a story not all that uncommon, I'm sure, and represented the precarious lives that people led in Cambria, Wyoming.

(The group descended into the valley where the town of Cambria once stood).

'There Was Never a Place Like It!' by Mabel Brown

Reminiscing, Cambria old-timers sighed and said, 'There was never a place like it." They may well have been right for in 1890, Cambria was known as *The Model Coal Camp of the World*.

Originally the company planned to build its camp on the table above the canyon. The thought was that it would be more healthful and free of the noise and dirt of the canyon. Thirty houses, a school and a central hydrant to serve the area were constructed. The site was called Antelope City.



Cambria barber shop of Frank Goode

The school housed all grades, elementary through twelfth. Cambria had a four-year high school before Newcastle and was one of the first in the state to offer the four years.

Anna Miller Museum

As people moved into the mining camp they seemed to prefer life in the canyon. To attend, school children in the canyon had to climb 365 steps, but attend they did. (See page 7 for photo of Cambria school). In later years a school was built in the canyon and it was the Antelope children who did the climbing.

Twenty-three nationalities made up the population of Cambria. Often only the native language was spoken in the home. When they began school, children found it necessary to learn English right along with their other studies. A goodly number of these first generation Americans finished high school and went on to colleges or universities.

There were three churches in Cambria, the Catholic, Episcopal and the Methodist. All of them worked together for the common good. Ladies of the churches held bazaars, bake sales and other events. Proceeds were divided equally among the three denominations. When help was needed for a special project of one group, all pitched in to insure the project's success. (This before they even heard the word ecumenical).

There was no police force in Cambria—not because there was no crime—but because the camp was an un-

incorporated community, A watchman served as a deputy sheriff to keep law and order.

There were no saloons. The Kilpatrick brothers had promised their mother, Rachel Kilpatrick that there would be no saloons in the camps and they kept their promise. The lack of saloons did not mean there was no liquor, however. The beer truck came up to the outskirts of the camp once a week. Miners brought in carloads of grapes, which they made into wine. If a fellow got really dry, he could always make his way down to Salt Creek to the halfway house.

Everything was owned by the Company— the houses, stores, utilities, everything-- except the U.S. Post Office and it was believed that the Company had much to do with the appointment of the Postmaster.

The Cambria Trading Company was comparable to big city department stores, offering the latest in goods and fashions. In fact, people came to shop, not only from Cambria, but also from Newcastle and towns throughout the Black Hills.

There were numerous fraternal organizations in the camp, each with a considerable membership. Among the lodges were the Knights of Pythias, the l.O.O.F. (Odd Fellows), the Royal Neighbors and the Redmen and their auxiliaries. They provided many community services as well as sponsoring entertainment and recreation.

Most of the homes in Cambria had electricity and running water, but not all of them. Some had steam heat. Outhouses were built on the hill slopes behind the houses. There were bath houses for the men where they could clean up and store their work clothes in lockers until the following day. Families of the workers could use the facilities early during hours when the men were working. (There were few if any bathrooms in the early Cambria homes.)

An unusual feature of this memorable place was the ditch down the main street of the camp. People dumped their wash water and other waste into it. In spring and early summer, a little creek ran down the ditch keeping the channel reasonably clean. By mid or late summer the garbage became pretty "ripe." A summer storm that washed the stuff down the canyon toward Newcastle, leaving the street clean again, was a welcome relief. Boards were laid across the ditch to aid in crossing the street. (Can't you just see those ladies in fashionable clothing lifting their skirts as they tripped daintily across the ditch on their way to an event at the Opera House?)

Traveling troupes from across the nation performed at the Cambria Opera House. Stage plays fresh off Broadway stopped at Cambria, as did opera singers, magicians, well-known bands and orchestras. Cambria may have been only an out-of-the-way mining camp but it was "financially attractive."

Music was ever important to Cambria. From the first, it had two fine bands, the Cambria Concert Band and the Miners Band. There were numerous small bands and orchestras, also some fine singers. (This brings to mind a legend, which is more than a legend. While serving as company doctor, Dr. N.E. Wells was called by a young mother to see her baby daughter. It seemed the child cried incessantly. There was no way the mother could stop the crying. After a careful examination the doctor told the mother. "There is nothing wrong with your baby. She's just exercising her lungs. She is going to be a fine singer some day." Mary took the doctor at his word. She worked hard, earned money to go to Chicago and, eventually, to California. She gave the child the best of backgrounds in music. Her daughter did become a recognized singer. She also married the famous Jerry Lewis. They are now divorced, but their children are part of the Cambria story. The Rottelini families of Sheridan and the Farellas of Newcastle are all descendants of the little mother who lived in Cambria. Her maiden name was Mary Rottelini. Kids in Newcastle and probably in Sheridan were jealous of the Farella and Rottelini kids, for, whenever a Jerry Lewis movie came to town, the family got free passes.)

Baseball was also important in the social life of the camp. The teams were champions throughout the hills for many years. There was a great deal of local rivalry between the Prairie Hay Seeds and the Cambria Never Sweats. There was nearly always a game between the two teams on the Fourth of July. The Fourth of July and Labor Day celebrations were the really big times of celebration. There were baseball games, picnics, greased pig and greased pole climbing events.

There were contests between bands of the area and special speakers. Highlight of the day was often, the tug-of-war between the "best men" working inside the mines and the "best men" working outside the mines. It went on for more than an hour and large sums were bet on the outcome. Dancing, food and drink were all a part of the day and friends came from all around to share in the festivities.

Married men were encouraged to apply for work at Cambria. No loiterers were allowed in camp, but it was common knowledge that a man who either played an instrument or who could play baseball had a good chance of employment.

The high school basketball teams were among the best in the state. The girls were often champions. The boys, too, were excellent players. One year they had a woman coach, probably the first in the state. The boys were on a roll. The team just couldn't seem to lose. Then, some envious, rival coach complained that it was highly improper for a woman to coach a boys team. Miss Mary Jane Davis was dismissed as coach but her boys had received good instruction and went on to win.

The life of the Cambria mines came to an end on March 17, 1928. George Franklin blew the last whistle when he went off shift. (By the way, George was the husband of that first woman to coach a boys basketball team).

Workers had known for some time that the mines would close. Many had homesteaded in the area and went to their land to live and work. Some found jobs in nearby mines, while others went to Sheridan or Gebo. Some, unable or unwilling to accept the closure, remained as long as possible. Tales of a mass exodus are but a myth. There are many people, descendants of Cambria worker, who live in the area.

Cambria was possibly not as great as the folk who once lived there recall, but it must have had a special something— a something, which cannot quite be captured, but which will live on in the minds and hears of those who once made the little place their home.

(Many of the trek participants walked down the valley, viewing the ruins of the old town, returning to hear about the geology of the vicinity).

The Geology of Cambria by Larry Berger

I have been asked to present a brief overview of the geology of the Cambria area, and some information on the mines themselves.

The oldest rocks exposed in the vicinity of Cambria are in the Spearfish Formation of the Permian Period. Drill deep enough here, about 7000 feet, and you will hit Precambrian-age rock, the same as is found in the core of the Black Hills.

Above the Precambrian rocks, lie the Deadwood Formation of the Cambrian Period, the Englewood limestone, Pahasapa limestone, Minnelusa Formation, Opeche shale, and Minnekahata limestone of the Mississippian, Pennsylvanian, and Permian periods. Above these are the Spearfish Formation, Gypsum Spring Formation, Sundance Formation, and the Morrison Formation of the Triassic and Jurassic Periods.

At the beginning of the Cretaceous Period, uplift west of the Black Hills caused meandering river systems, flowing generally northeast, to carry clastic material across the Black Hills area toward a vast shallow sea. Somewhere in the Hills area, these rivers merged with rivers flowing primarily northwest which were draining the Sioux uplift to the east.

The rock you see in the canyon walls around you is the Lakota Formation of the early Cretaceous Period. In the Cambria area, the Lakota Formation consists mostly of sandstone, conglomeratic sandstone, claystone, and intermediate rock types. The Lakota here varies in thickness from about 160-260 feet.

Except for two layers of carbonaceous material in the lower part of the formation, the Lakota has few fossils in the Black Hills area. Some cycad, fern and conifer foliage fossils have been found, along with a few fresh-water mollusks and dinosaur bones.

During most of the remainder of the Cretaceous Period, thousands of feet of boring shales were deposited. Toward the end of the Cretaceous, after the Fox Hills Formation was deposited, uplift related to the Laramide orogeny started to occur. From the Cambrian Period till this point, the area that eventually became the Black Hills had been mostly flat, and under shallow seas more often than not. Uplift from the Laramide continued until the Oligocene. With the uplift, deposition virtually ceased and erosion began. The uplift drained the seas from the region. From 4000 to a maximum of about 5500 feet of sedimentary material could have been deposited on top of the Lakota Formation here at Cambria prior to the major Laramide uplift. The Black Hills were in place by the late Oli-

gocene Epoch, and most of the present surface was exposed.

That is a generalized overview of the area geology. Since we are at Cambria, of special interest is the lower section of the Lakota Formation. The lower part of the Lakota Formation is generally between 100 and 140 feet thick in the Newcastle Quadrangle, but in places, it is only between 50 and 100 feet thick. The two reasons for this variation in thickness are the "erosional relief" on the surface of the underlying Morrison Formation, and the slight folding and erosion that occurred during the deposition of the lower part of the Lakota Formation. The lower part of the Lakota Formation consists mostly of light-grey to light yellowish-grey, fine-grained, friable sandstone, in thin to thick tabular beds. In places, cross-bedding can be seen in the sandstone beds. At the bottom of the lower section of the Lakota formation, and again at about 60 feet above the bottom, there are bands of carbonaceous material These bands, particularly the upper one, can be traced around the western side of the Black Hills, from around Edgemont to the Alladin area.

In most places, these beds of brown carbonaceous siltstone and silty shale are only a few inches thick. In a few places, this carbonaceous zone thickens into coal seams. At Cambria, these coal seams were thick enough to mine at a profit. That is why the railroad came this way. The coal from these mines made it profitable for the railroads to open up this area of Wyoming.

The coal beds within the carbonaceous zone in the lower Lakota formation are not continuous. Actually, they are shaped somewhat like lenses—thin on the edges, thick through the middle, and thin again at the other side. In many places, the zone contains no coal. The thickness of the coal beds varied with the position of the floor (which was a wavy, partly erosional, surface), and with the thickness of the sandstone, shale and bone partings with which it is inter-bedded. The coal was laid down in a mostly freshwater swamp or marsh, probably at or near the coast of the shallow sea which was generally to the north of this area. Another factor affecting the thickness of the coal beds was the slight folding of the underlying rocks that was going on in the early Cretaceous.

The coal beds at Cambria, where mined, ranged generally from three to ten feet in thickness, and averaged about five feet. In the later period of mining, an area of about 200 acres was found in which the thickness of coal ranged from eight to eighteen feet.

The railroad was not interested in just any coal. Lignite coal and sub-bituminous coal was available around the west. They needed high-quality coal for their

locomotives. Most of the coal here at Cambria is ranked as 'high-volitile C bituminous' - very good coal. It is hard, banded in alternate dull and bright layers, and has a well-developed prismatic cleavage. Other coals mined along with the bituminous coal were cannel coal, splint coal, and pine needle coal, which is felted masses of carbonized fibers.

Most of the coal produced at Cambria was used for locomotive fuel on the Burlington Railroad, but some of the coal was capable of being made into coke. Coke is made by heating coal to a high temperature in an oven. In the coking process, coal is turned into a hard, porous, blackish-grey residue, with a metallic luster, that is composed of about 92 percent carbon, the remainder being mostly ash. Coke was used as a fuel and as a reducing agent to smelt gold and other metals from ores in a number of Black Rills mills. Cambria coke was also used by smelters and foundries in Colorado and other places.

The coking ovens used at Cambria were circular, dome-roofed chambers built of silica-brick. Since this shape resembled an old-fashioned beehive, they were called "beehive ovens." Beehive ovens were the most modern coking technology available in the United States at the time they were built. The coal was piled inside and ignited. When most of the volatile elements in the coal were driven off, the flames would die down. The fire would then be partly smothered with coal dust, and the heap sprinkled with water. The coke was then loaded into railcars.

At the time, a niche market existed for coke, and Cambria's mines made a profit on it until the market changed and more efficient coke- producing technology came along. Beehive ovens wasted the valuable gas and coal tar by-products of the coking process. A total of 74 coking ovens were built down the canyon. Each oven produced about a ton of coke per day. Between 1891 and 1903,106,880 tons of coke was produced from 224,750 tons of coal.

Based on information available in 1950, the origi-

nal coal reserves at Cambria, in beds greater than 14

inches thick, were estimated at about 36 million tons. Of that amount, about 12.5 million tons were mined and shipped, and about 8.5 million tons were lost in mining. Most of the remaining reserves were believed to be in small pockets that would be difficult and expensive to mine. The field was regarded as mined out. The Cambria mines were regarded as a showcase for the coal industry. The mining methods and machinery used at Cambria were the most modern at that time. Mining in general, and coal mining in particular, has traditionally been an extremely hazardous venture. The safety and health record at the Cambria mines was remarkably good for the times. Fatalities per ton of coal mined at Cambria were about half of national average for the coal industry at that time.

Nature played a part in this. The coal formation at Cambria had little of the explosive and poisonous gasses normally found in coal mines. Also, the mines were fairly dry. Little pumping of water was required. The chief problems in coal lines are ventilation and roof support. The main cause of fatal accidents in coal mines is rock-fall, cave-in, explosive gases, and asphyxiant gases. At Cambria, more than half of the fatalities were due to falling rock or coal. Explosion and asphyxiation played only a very minor part. The Cambria mines did



James L. Green, his drivers and horses, Cambria mines. The arrow points to Green, standing at left center.

Anna Miller Mu:

have their share of accidents and fatalities, but the fatalities were infrequent and usually isolated, not large groups of miners at a time.

I have found little information on the methods employed in the mining, other than descriptions of the machinery used. There is a good description of the machinery in Mabel Brown's book, "... and then there was one." In the small portion of the mines that I have examined, there was little timbering other than at the entrances. The mining method used was "room and pillar," where pillars of coal were left to help support the roof as the rooms were mined. In coal mining, timbers were normally used to supplement the pillars of coal, though I did not see any. Once inside the tunnel entrance, the only timbers I could see were used as supports for telephone wire and electrical wire that ran along the tunnels.

In 1908, there were five mines: the Jumbo, Antelope 1, Antelope 2, Antelope 3, and Antelope 4, with eleven main entrances. There was about five and onehalf miles of main haulageway, connecting some 1045 acres of workings. What these figures were twenty years later when the Cambria mines closed, I have no idea. At each entrance there were two parallel tunnels. The larger one was the main haulage way. The smaller one was the ventilation air passageway. There were huge, 15-foot-high, squirrel-cage fans in the canyon outside each of the tunnels. Along the air passageways, there were three-inch thick, solid-wood doors. By opening or closing the doors leading to the various rooms or the main haulage tunnel, safe ventilation could be maintained throughout the various areas of the mines. You can still see the foundations for the fans and the motors that drove them, at most of the main mine entrances. There is even one nearly complete fan still standing at one entrance up Camp canyon.

(The trek party left Cambria and proceeded back to Highway 85, stopping at a turnout along the road).

Cambria Salt Mine by Leonard Cash

In the early days of the development of the Black Hills, the nearest railroad was nearly 200 miles away. With wagon transportation costs to the mines being high, a bulky yet necessary commodity like salt had high value. Springs with a heavy salt content were discovered by Europeans in the canyon below this point on July 8, 1877, and in November, 1878, James LeGraves came to the area to produce salt for the growing Black Hills mining market. He erected a furnace

on which were two evaporating pans, the larger of the two being six feet wide and sixty feet long. For the next six years, LeGraves produced salt by evaporating off spring water during the summer months and shipping his product to the mining districts. Some of the salt went to the general stores of Deadwood and Lead, but its primary use was in chloridizing the gold and silver ores mined southeast of Deadwood.

The Cambria Salt Company was organized in 1907 and prepared to manufacture and refine salt for the large western market. In an unsuccessful effort to locate the bed of rock salt from which the brine comes, several wells were drilled, one of them to a depth of 825 feet. The evaporating and purifying plant, arranged for coal fuel, was located over the divide to the west, next to the Cambria coal mine; the brine was pumped to it. N.H. Darton reported in 1904 that the spring along Sa!t Creek flowed at the rate of about one gallon per second and that the water contained a little more than five percent sodium chloride (salt). According to Darton's calculations, about 35,000 pounds of salt was produced every 24 hours. (The spring flowed at about the same rate when tested in 1962, and the concentration of sodium chloride in the water, at that time, was nearly six percent).

All of the equipment was sold by the sheriff at a bankruptcy sale on May 11, 1909, to settle the indebtedness owed to the Exchange National Bank of Hastings, Neb.

(Next stop was near the site of the Canyon Springs Stage Station)

Canyon Springs Stage Station by Alice M. Tratebas

The Canyon Springs Stage Station may be the most famous location along the Cheyenne-Deadwood stage route. There was the well-known robbery at the station of a sizable gold shipment, but the gold was not the only matter of importance. The robbery and its aftermath changed history in the area. The immediate change was a shift in the stage route away from the heavy timber north of the station to the open country around the northwest side of the Black Hills. In the year following the robbery, the exhaustive search for the bandits drove robbers away from the Cheyenne-Deadwood trail into the Powder River country and beyond, to the Hole-in-the-Wall in the southern Bighorn Mountains.

The trail route up Stockade Beaver Creek was established in June 1877, the second year of the stage line's existence. The first route headed northeast at Hat

Creek to enter the Black Hills at Red Canyon and reach Deadwood via Custer. Massacre of the Metz party and other attacks in Red Canyon led to discontinuing that route. The new route north of Hat Creek crossed present-day Highway 85 several times. Where Highway 85 has a bridge over Robbers Roost Creek, the stage route crossed the creek also and stayed east of Highway 85 from there north. The trail followed Stockade Beaver Creek starting at its mouth and came out of the valley onto the ridge-tops a few miles south of the Canyon Springs station. The trail reached elevations of more than 6000 feet as soon as it climbed out of the valley. The area between the Canyon Springs and Cold Springs stations was the first high elevation section of the trail for parties arriving from Cheyenne. To get through the deep winter snows, the stage line put runners on the coaches at Jenney Stockade and sleighed all the way to Deadwood. The trail past Canyon Springs was used from June 1877 until October 1878.

Canyon Springs was a relay location, where the stock tender could change the horses in seven minutes and the coach would be on its way. The station had a log cabin that included a stable area and living quarters for the stock tender. The cabin was on the rim of the canyon just above a spring high along the canyon wall. The spring provided easy access to water, which otherwise would require a steep hike into the canyon.

Prior to the September 1878 robbery, bandits had concentrated on the open country between the edge of the Black Hills and Hat Creek, especially near the Robbers Roost station. They usually struck at night. The stage managers did not expect a robbery at Canyon Springs on a day run. For gold shipments, the stage line used the iron -clad coach known as the Monitor. The strongbox bolted to the coach floor was guaranteed to resist cracking for 24 hours. The stage carried no public passengers when they were transporting gold.

To protect the large gold shipment on the September 26 run, the stage company left three messengers at the Stockade Beaver Station, said to be seven miles south of Canyon Springs, and planned to have them ride alongside the coach on the south bound run. Three company "shotguns," Scott Davis, Gale Hill, and Eugene Smith, were riding with the coach. The stage driver was Gene Barnett. A telegraph operator, Hugh Campbell, was hitching a ride to the Jenney Stockade telegraph office. Unknown to the stage, a bandit hanging around Deadwood observed the Monitor leaving and rode ahead to notify the bandits waiting at Canyon Springs. One account says that Superintendent William M. Ward, who was supposed to accompany the coach to Hat Creek, stopped at the Cold Springs Sta-

tion, which was a regular dinner stop, and returned to Deadwood on horseback. Another account names a different station where he stopped for dinner and left the coach. Most stories relate that the Cold Springs Station was only two or three miles beyond Canyon Springs. Recent investigations to relocate traces of the trail and stage stations indicate it was actually about double that distance. The Cold Springs station was on a cutoff to Custer developed after the 1877 route bypassed that town. This important junction was better known than the small relay station at Canyon Springs.

When the coach reached the Canyon Springs station at about 3 p.m., the stock tender was not in sight since he had been tied up and locked in the grain room of the stables. Gale Hill, riding shotgun, jumped down to chock the wheels. The bandits hiding in the cabin started firing through the logs. In retelling the story years later, Scott Davis remarked that they fired without calling out "holdup" or other verbal warning.³ Robbery 'protocol,' usually included a verbal warning, which gave people a chance to hold up their hands, instead of risking being killed or wounded. These robbers, however, were more ruthless.

Hill was shot, but managed to crawl behind the stable and later shot through a window to wound Frank McBride, one of the robbers. The robbers shot through the coach roof, which was not lined with metal. A wood splinter hit Eugene Smith in the head and knocked him unconscious. Scott Davis fired from the coach with little effect. Then he and Hugh Campbell got out the far side of the coach and backed into the trees. The unarmed Campbell strayed from the cover of the coach and was shot and killed. Davis urged the driver, Gene Barnett, to drive off and save himself and the coach. Before he could, one of the robbers left cover and grabbed the horses. Davis was able to shoot and wound him. The robbers then grabbed Gene for protection and began advancing on Davis. Unable to shoot and knowing the lockbox was guaranteed to withstand breaking for 24 hours, Scott backed farther into the trees and went for help. He walked seven miles south to the Ben Eager place where he borrowed a horse. (Although the early accounts refer to the Stockade Beaver Station as being seven miles south, recent investigations show a distance of about 8.5 miles between the stations.) On the

¹ Joe Koller, "Cold Springs Station," in "Cheyenne-Deadwood Trail Trek, #16," *Annals of Wyoming* 38 (April 1966), 99.

² Agnes Wright Spring, *The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Route*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1946), 266

³ "Canyon Springs Stage Robbery," *News Letter Journal*, December 6, 1990.

⁴ Spring, 269.

way to the Stockade Beaver station, he met the three messengers who had started out to investigate why the stage was late. The stage usually kept a tight schedule and could make the Cheyenne to Deadwood run in 47 or 48 hours. When they got to Canyon Springs, they discovered that the robbers already left, after opening the strongbox in only a couple hours.

Accounts differ on the details of what happened.⁴ William Miner, still tied up in the grain bin, said that the robbers tied everyone to trees after Scott Davis got away, took the safe out of the coach, and spent several hours trying to open it. Eugene Smith, who had been grazed in the head, said the robbers took him and Gene Barnett and drove the coach out of sight into the timber. They tied Smith and Barnett to the coach wheels and broke open the safe in about two hours with a sledge hammer and cold chisel. Meanwhile, Miner got loose and walked to Cold Springs where he got a horse and rode to Deadwood to report the robbery and get a doctor for Hill.

The stage company offered a \$2500 reward for recovery of the valuables and conviction of the robbers. The shipment, worth \$27,000, was mostly gold bars, but there was also some gold dust, cash, and jewelry. People riding passenger coaches often sent their jewelry and other valuables in the Monitor's strongbox for safe keeping. Not just the size of the robbery, but the fact that the robbers killed Campbell, angered local people. Many posses set off in different directions searching for the robbers' trails. To the east, a posse picked up the trail at Slate Greek, where three robbers had bought a wagon and two ponies to transport the wounded robber, Frank McBride. A miner later reported that McBride died and was buried in the Rocheford area. The posse tracked the robbers east of Rapid City onto the Pierre trail. Finding the abandoned wagon along the trail, they assumed that McBride was dead. At one camp, they found a gold brick. Later, Andy Gouch, who had ridden as advance guard for the robbers, was arrested. He directed officers to gold retort that had been buried at the same camp. William Ward, who was with this posse, tracked Thomas Jefferson "Duck" Goodale to Iowa and recovered another gold brick and jewelry. Goodale escaped when Ward was bringing him back by train and was never recaptured. Ward was fired for stupidity or duplicity, various news media accusing him of both.

Although posses exploring in other directions did not locate the tracks of other Canyon Springs robbers, a major effort to round up all road agents in late September and October 1878, resulted in several confessions. At Deadwood, William Mansfield and Archie McLaughlin confessed to the Canyon Springs robbery and others, after being taken to a secluded spot and "drawn up a tree." They later retracted the Canyon Springs portion of their confessions. Masked vigilantes intercepted the coach taking them to be tried and hanged them. The *Black Hills Daily Times* editor thought they were not implicated in the Canyon Springs robbery because, by then, enough robbers had already been rounded up.

When Al Spears disposed of jewelry and gold dust in Oglalla, Nebraska, a U.S. Marshal suspected him of the Canyon Springs robbery. When arrested, Spears had jewelry on him from the treasure coach and a gun that he took from Gale Hill. He received a life sentence for his part in the robbery and the killing of Campbell.

It was never clear if all the Canyon Springs robbers were caught or accounted for. The fact that some were coerced into confessions they later retracted adds confusion to the story. Robbers caught with the evidence for one crime likely committed others for which they were never tried. In a final accounting, Frank McBride died, Duck Goodale escaped, and Al Spears went to prison. Andy Gouch served a two-year sentence in prison. Several others rumored to have been in on the Canyon Springs robbery were caught for other crimes.

Whether all the gold was recovered also is not clear. The records do not add up to the full \$27,000 value, although every newspaper account or other report may not have listed exactly what was recovered with each arrest. In re-enacting the robbery at the 1914 Wyoming State Fair, Davis stated that all but the few dollars used to buy the wagon and horses had been recovered. 7 Popular opinion suggests that gold may still be buried near Canvon Springs. A recent metal detector magazine article sent many enthusiasts scurrying along the Cheyenne-Deadwood trail, looking for gold. Considering that some gold was hidden along the Pierre trail and other recovered in Iowa and Nebraska, it seems far more likely that any gold not recovered during the robber roundup might be still hidden in some obscure and very distant place. It is unlikely that the robbers would have abandoned any near the robbery location, since no one was that close on their trail.

After the major robber roundup in 1878, outlaws shifted their attention toward the Powder River country, then to the Hole-in-the-Wall, and eventually elsewhere. Although mail coaches going to and from the

⁵ Spring, 277.

⁶ Black Hills Daily Times, November 13, 1878.

^{7 &}quot;Canyon Springs Stage Robbery," News Letter Journal, December 6, 1990.

Black Hills experienced occasional robberies, the Cheyenne-Deadwood stage never had another gold robbery along the trail. After October 1878, coaches avoided the wooded country at Canyon Springs and traveled instead around the northwest edge of the Hills past Inyan Kara and Sundance, then east to Deadwood. Even when the mail was shifted to a Sydney to Rapid City route around the east side of the Black Hills, settlers, miners, and supply wagons continued to travel along the western routes to Deadwood. Only when the railroad arrived in 1891, did the coaches finally stop running.

Note on sources: Most of this account is from research by Agnes Wright Spring who had access to original accounts and records and interviewed many people who had first-hand knowledge about the trail. Annie Tallent gives a somewhat different account of the famous robbery, including a completely different set of robbers, and places the robbery at the Cold Springs station.8 Tallent's account was written from memory, rather than a result of extensive historic research and evaluation of conflicting reports. The 1878 newspaper accounts report the location as Canyon Springs. Spring wrote that people often used the better known station name, but that the robbery actually took place at Canyon Springs.⁹ The landscape of the robbery, especially the fact that Scott Davis could hide in the trees and escape down the canyon, fits the Canyon Springs station perfectly.

(The trek party turned off of the highway onto a county road and proceeded south).

Early Ranches on Stockade Beaver Creek by Mary Capps

Settlement of Stockade Beaver Valley began about 1880, following the gold rush to Dakota Territory in 1876. In 1877 the Cheyenne Black Hills Stage Company established the Jenney Stockade Route, bringing many travelers to the western Black Hills. The stock-raising and farming potential of the country were soon recognized and, by 1879, Sundance, 40 miles north of here, was already a trading post and post office for local ranches. By 1878, Ben Eager was living on a ranch on the upper end of this valley.

In 1883, when William Henry Fawcett, my grandfather, located his homestead on this site, there were already several ranches in the valley. Thomas P. Sweet, who had filed on this place, relocated a couple of miles down the valley where there was more desirable land for raising hay. My grandfather purchased Sweet's homestead rights for \$20 and a team of "well-broke" mules.

Thomas P. "Tom" Sweet was among the earliest ranchers in the valley. He had arrived in Custer, Dakota Territory in 1877. In 1878 he was elected sheriff there, and after serving a two-year term, he moved to Wyoming to settle on Beaver Creek. The Sweet place, where he lived for many years, is located two miles down the valley. His great-grandson, Tom Sweet, lives on a place about a mile from the original Sweet Ranch. The Sweet homestead is owned by Tracy Hunt.

True Ranches of Wyoming now own the LAK, one of the earliest and best-known ranches in the valley. The LAK has a colorful history, beginning with the earliest permanent settlers coming to the area. A sign along U.S. Highway 16 near ranch headquarters marks the approximate site of the original Jenney Stockade. A military outpost at first, the stockade was converted in 1877 to a stop on the Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage route. The ranch produces hundreds of acres of alfalfa hay, irrigated from the LAK Lake. A large earthen dam impounds water from Stockade Beaver Creek to create the lake. The LAK Lake is a popular boating and fishing spot for local residents.

Joseph C. Spencer of Lead, S. D., was the original owner of LAK Ranch. Spencer and two of his partners, Burroughs and Flarida, bought the Jenney Stockade from the stage company in 1877. Spencer borrowed the initials of other partners, L(ake), A(llerton) and K(ing), (Chicago-based banker-cattlemen) to make up the "LAK" brand. After the Jenney Stockade Route was abandoned by the stage company, the stage stop became the headquarters for LAK Ranch.

Spencer was an entrepreneur in an undeveloped country. He stocked his ranch with cattle driven up from Texas, engineered and built an extensive irrigation system, and enlarged the ranch holdings. By the mid-1880s, he was busy developing the Sylvan Lake Resort, just east of Custer, S.D. He filed placer claims on extensive oil holdings in what is now Weston County. Frank Smith was interested in oil exploration and was one of J. C. Spencer's partners in this emerging enterprise. In 1914, Spencer sold the LAK to the Ohio Company, and it has since had several owners. (We will have a good view of the LAK and its modern castle, built in the 1960s, as we drive down the valley to Highway 16).

In 1878 and 1879 Joseph Henry Freel came through this area, hauling freight from Fort Frederick, Colo-

⁸ Annie D. Tallent, *The Black Hills: or. The Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotahs.* (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing Co., 1899).

⁹ Spring, 265.

rado, via Fort Laramie and on to Deadwood. Freel saw great potential for raising stock in the area. By 1880, he had homesteaded on a place about two miles to the north. His brother-in-law, Frank Smith (married to Josie Freel) arrived that year and settled on a place about a mile up the valley. Other Freel family members came to settle on Oil Creek and on the "Limestone" just east of here.

My grandfather, William Henry "Billy" Fawcett, came to the hills in 1877, hauling freight along the Bismarck trail. He was the first post-master in Lead, Dakota Territory, and later operated the Fawcett-Delehant Grocery there. He became interested in the western regions of the Black Hills through his travels locating oil placer claims. His name appears in many records of the early oil companies, Eaggle Oil, Beaver Oil, Whoopup Oil and Gas, Westara, and others. In 1883 he located the home place here. However, the Fawcett family did not move to Wyoming until 1900, and over the intervening years, he hired several ranch managers. One of the earliest to live here was Frank Allebach, for whom my father, Frank William Fawcett, was named.

Horses were much in demand in those years. The country is much better suited to raising horses than cattle, so in the early years the Fawcett Ranch raised horses. One can still find remnants of the great, round horse corral in the canyon just east of the house. In 1889 Billy Fawcett hired R. A. (Bob) Harper to operate the ranch. This was an enduring partnership. In 1887 Harper bought the Fod Hansen place, just a half mile to the south. He moved there in 1900, when my family moved to the ranch. Bob Harper and Billy Fawcett talked to each other every day over the next 36 years, until my grandfather died in 1936. They are probably still talking together, taking the hide off the "Democrats." Harper's son, Robert A. Harper, lives on the original Harper place just over the hill to the south.

Many of the ranches here in the valley are small as compared to our ideas of a typical Wyoming ranch. This place has about 3000 acres of deeded and leased land. The acreage includes several homesteads, bought up over the years as settlers proved up and moved on. There is one 160-acre Stone and Timber Claim in the beautiful red canyon to the east. It has remarkable esthetic value, but the vertical canyon walls would provide a challenge for mountain goats, so it is poor for grazing. Many of the early ranches hold territorial water rights, either on springs or on the flow in Stockade Beaver Creek. The ranch here has rights on five springs which originate on the place. The present home was built in 1904, at a cost of \$1200.

By 1886 other families had arrived to settle in the valley. The Ed Thomson family came from Quebec, Canada, and spent the first winter in a dugout that had been home for the stocktender at Beaver Station on the Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage. Several of the Thomson children later took up homesteads in the vicinity of Thomson Canyon, a few miles up the valley. U.S. Congressman/Senator-Elect Keith Thomson was a grandson of Ed Thomson.

The F. B. Fawcett family (no relation to W. H. Fawcett) arrived from Kansas in 1887. Some of the Fawcett children were of school age, so Mr. Fawcett went to the county seat in Sundance and made arrangements for a school. A schoolhouse was constructed and a Mr. Nefsy was hired to teach that first year. Fawcett, Thomson, and Freel children attended the first term. The late Frank Fawcett, one of Weston County's remarkable oral historians, recalls that Mr. Nefsy was a good teacher, but very strict with discipline. Lacking a school bell, he used a stick to pound on the side of the school building to call the children in from recess. They were admonished to stay close to school in order to hear the signal, or the stick became a different sort of threat. Mr. Nefsy had good reason to keep close watch over the children. There were still many grizzlies, mountain lions and wolves in this frontier country. Of course all of the children walked to school. This first school in Weston County was located about three and a half miles north of here on the present-day Russell Davis Ranch.

For a long time during the peak years of home-steading, many more families lived on Stockade Beaver Creek than live here today. Within a distance of twenty miles, there were five one-room schools. Places were so close together one could hear the neighbor's rooster crow. Roads were poor and transportation slow. People, who had to depend on each other, developed a strong sense of community and interdependence. The country school was often the center of social life. Telephones, better roads, school buses, and better educational opportunities in the town school finally brought the country school to extinction.

An entire book could be written about the people of Stockade Beaver. We have not mentioned Earl, a bachelor who seldom ate at home, but made periodic visits to the neighbors for 7000-calorie meals. Or Ed, who drove to Beaver Creek every Sunday for twenty-five years to see Mamie, and then married someone else. We haven't mentioned fierce battles over water rights or shootings at the sawmill. We haven't mentioned Loretta's sour cream chocolate cake, which prompted cowboys to ride a bit smart in order to arrive

right after dinner, for dessert. The school picnic, barn dances, the rifle club, the Beaver Creek Telephone Company, the Busy Beaver Womens' Club were all a part of the fabric which made up a community. Some people came, found the country too harsh and didn't stay. Others came and took root like a cottonwood tree. Some came for a time, moved on to greener pastures, but still return periodically for pilgrimages to the "home place."

(The trek continued south to U. S. Highway 16 and stopped at the historical marker east of Newcastle).

Trek Conclusion by Dr. Mike Jording

What you have heard throughout the day from other speakers is truth based on some facts, some memories, some estimations, and perhaps spiced up or juiced up to keep all of us interested. Well, let me ask some questions of everyone or anyone on this trek. First, is Sacajawea buried in Fremont County, Wyoming? Second question: During a December 1866 blizzard, did John Portugee Phillips ride his horse 236 miles in two days from Fort Phil Kearny to Fort Laramie? And the final question: Is the history of Wyoming totally discovered, preserved, and interpreted?

The answers to the questions are "no, no, and no." We can get to thinking that there is no more room for research when we see or hear about what is being done on the history of Wyoming and other states. However, the facts are that there exists a vast area of untouched information yet to be discovered and researched.

The Ancient Trails of Northeast Wyoming Archeology Society organized and prepared a plan a year or two ago to do research and interpret stage stations along the Cheyenne Deadwood Trail. The effort reached in several directions including ranchers, personnel of the Bureau of Land Management, and amateur historians and archaeologists. The goals were to identify all of the stage stops along the trail from the Cheyenne River about 30 miles south of Newcastle to Mallo Camp about 25 miles north of Newcastle.

After applying for and receiving a grant from the BLM, the group researched old General Land Office maps from 1880s surveys of Wyoming and tried to trace points from those old maps onto present-day topography maps. They also used aerial photographs to identify remains of foundations and to locate ruts on the trail. The stations existed along a transportation line from the railroad country around Cheyenne to the Black Hills gold fields. From south to north, the stations that

served the frontier travelers were Robbers' Roost at the Cheyenne River crossing about 30 miles south of here, Beaver Creek (main crossing), Jenney Stockade where we now are standing, Stockade Beaver Station, Canyon Springs approximately where we stopped just past Four Corners, and Cold Springs. The final product will be interpretive sites at or near the original sites. Small informative plaques will detail the history of the stage station and the Cheyenne-Deadwood Trail.

Much information exists about Jenney Stockade, but the story of the station, best known as a stage stop on the Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage Line, predates the stage system by almost 20 years. In 1857 Lt. G. K. Warren, accompanied by geologist Dr. F.V. Hayden, camped on the east side of Beaver Creek and built a log corral. From this semi-permanent camp, the Warren party explored the Black Hills for mineral wealth.

In March 1875, seventy-five geologists and miners led by Professor Walter P. Jenney left Cheyenne for the Black Hills. At Fort Laramie, 432 soldiers under the command of Lt. Col. Richard I. Dodge joined them. When they reached this area in June 1875, they built a log fort and named it Camp Jenney. This site served as a supply depot for all the other mining exploration camps throughout the Black Hills. It was not until June 1877, that a cut-off on the Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage Line was built leading to Camp Jenney's most renowned period of operation.

Early in 1878, a "rush" was made by the Deadwood miners for the Jenney Stockade district where oil had been discovered bubbling from a spring. Within a short time, claim cabins sprung up to the west of Jenney Stockade, and an estimated 100 oil well claims were established at that time.

On June 22, 1877, the land on which Jenney Stockade stood became the property of Flarida, Burroughs and Spencer. Spencer obtained Flarida's and Burrough's interest and the LAK (Lake, Allerton, and Spencer) Cattle Company was established during 1877-1878. And so, we continue to know the area as the LAK.

The question comes up again. Is there any Wyoming history to research, preserve, and interpret? Absolutely, yes! Our research may not center on popular sites like Jenney Stockade, but there exists so much to learn. When we return to Weston County in 10 to 15 years with the State Historical Society Annual Trek, we will sit upon Rattlesnake Ridge and view the Cheyenne-Deadwood Trail for almost 60 miles.

(The trek concluded with visits to local sites in Newcastle, including the Joe Lefors house and the Anna Miller Museum).

Recent Acquisitions in the Hebard Collection, UW Libraries

Compiled by Tamsen L. Hert, University of Wyoming Libraries

The Grace Raymond Hebard Wyoming Collection is a branch of the University of Wyoming Libraries. It is housed in the Owen Wister Western Writers Reading Room in the American Heritage Center. Primarily a research collection, the core of this collection is Dr. Hebard's personal library which was donated to the university libraries. Further donations have been significant in the development of this collection. While it is easy to identify materials about Wyoming published by nationally known publishers, it can be difficult to locate pertinent publications printed in Wyoming. The Hebard Collection is considered to be the most comprehensive collection on Wyoming in the state.

If you have any questions about these materials or the Hebard Collection, you can contact me at 307-766-6245; by email, thert@uwyo.edu or you can access the Hebard HomePage at: http://www.uwyo.edu/lib heb.htm.

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Letter to the Editor

Dear Editor,

I would like to take this opportunity to comment, for the record, about my article published in the *Wyoming His*tory Journal, Spring 1996, Vol. 68, No. 2. There were editorial changes made to my article which I didn't have the opportunity to see before the article was published. The article that was published, then, did not completely represent what I had written nor did it completely reflect my intended interpretation of the topic.

First, 1 titled my article, "Remembering Heart Mountain." The title that appeared was "Heart Mountain: Remembering the Camp." History is full of euphemisms. Some of the worst examples of euphemisms used by our government were with the "internment" of Japanese Americans during World War II in "relocation centers" or "relocation camps." I chose to not use "camp" in my title. In the past, too often, we referred to these places, as the government did, as "relocation centers" instead of what in fact they were, "concentration camps." The term "concentration camp" is offensive to many people because of their association with Hitler's camps which, in fact, were not "concentration camps," but rather "death camps." I chose to not use "camp" or "concentration camp" in the title in order to explain the terminology in the text. Referring to this place as a "camp" without an accurate adjective does not do this tragic historic place justice.

Furthermore, I had provided a photograph of the place with the tar papered shacks and the barbed wire surrounding them and had hoped it would have appeared with my title, "Remembering Heart Mountain." With this photograph, the reader then would be able to know what I was referring to in my title. The title photograph used, of two people looking off at Heart Mountain, the landmark, at sunset is closer to government propaganda than to the reality

for which these people were living. Consider how the photograph used is perpetuating the myth held by many caucasians at the time that "these people were happy there." It was my hope to dismiss this myth in my article, not perpetuate it.

There were also quotes taken out of my text. This historic event was a very personal and painful experience for the Japanese Americans. It is also an event that many of them are ashamed to have been a part of, despite it being no fault of their own. I have been entrusted with the personal stories from many former Heart Mountain internees. They were willing to share with me their painful memories only after I had earned their trust and assured anonymity. Wanting to respect the people for whose experience I am writing, I honored any request for anonymity. This is not uncommon. Other historians addressing sensitive subjects have likewise drawn upon and used anonymous oral histories or letters. All my anonymous quotes and citations were stricken from my article without my knowledge. This lessened the impact of my article and perhaps can be viewed as insensitive to the Japanese Americans.

It is my hope with this letter that future readers of my article about the Heart Mountain Concentration Camp will also have these comments so to have a more accurate understanding of my presentation and interpretation of the subject. Unfortunately, this could have been avoided had I had the opportunity to see changes before the article was published.

Antonette C. Noble Cora, Wyoming

Editor Phil Roberts replies:

To quote William Allen White, editor of the *Emporia (Kansas) Gazette* earlier in this century: "There are three things that no one can do to the entire satisfaction of anyone else; make love, poke the fire and run a newspaper [journal]."

Book Reviews

--Some Significant Recent Books in Western and Wyoming History

In Place: Stories of Landscape & Identity from the American West. By Barbara Allen Bogart. Glendo: High Plains Press, 1994. Art work, note on text, bib. 128 pp. Paper, \$10.95.

In Place is a book meant to be read slowly and savored, preferably in the company of someone else willing to listen to the passages that cry to be read aloud. Barbara Allen Bogart has gathered stories from hundreds of oral histories in the collections of universities, historical societies, museums, and libraries and has edited these by ethnopoetic transcription, in the manner proposed by Dennis Tedlock (p. 123). This allows her to present the stories "typographically in a way that leads the reader to understand their rhythms and sense as spoken, rather than written, texts" (p. 123). Those stories which defy this treatment accentuate the rhythm of those which do fit the unusual treatment.

Bogart's thesis is that people absorb the essence of place, which ultimately leads them to understand themselves "as belonging to a place," and thus ready to "begin to take care of it" (p. 11). To support her thesis, she has divided the book into three main sections: "Coming into the Land" "Learning to Live with the Land," and "Measuring Up to the Place" and then including pertinent stories under each heading—going from "Journey" to "Identity." Even though there is a heavy emphasis on "old" stories, she avoids the trap of focusing only on the past, and includes some contemporary stories which work well in showing that the process of becoming part of a place continues. A favorite here is her story of the man flying into Rock Springs, being told by the pilot that the temperature is forty-one degrees, and the visibility thirty-five miles, only to meet raging snow and wind upon landing. When he accuses the pilot of lying, he is told "Eight minutes ago it was true./ Welcome to Wyoming!"(p. 34).

As a folklorist and oral historian, Bogart's background is evident in her choice and arrangement of the stories. She includes myths which explain the inexplicable about the new land, legends of Big Foot and unplumbable sinkholes, tall tales like the one of the bear who kept running into the hammer of a broken sledge hammer swinging on a rope tied to a tree branch, and jokes of all kinds—those to relieve tension, those

to demean the outsider, and lastly, those which establish that inhabitants who have become one with their place set up an "us" versus "them" mentality which begins to override the initial banding together for the common survival shown in the earlier stories.

Including the names of the persons who told the stories, as well as the states in which they were found, would add to the authenticity of the text, but overall, *In Place* is impressively designed, beautifully illustrated by Mary Patricia Ettinger and printed on paper of exceptional quality. It can be read for pleasure, insight, or study of the West. It will make a good auxiliary text for students of history, oral history, and folklore. It is a fine addition to literature.

Winifred Sawaya Wasden Northwest College, Powell

Hog Ranches of Wyoming: Liquor, Lust, and Lies Under Sagebrush Skies. By Larry K. Brown. Glendo: High Plains Press, 1995). 117 pages. Illus., index. 117 pp. Paper, \$9.95

Larry K. Brown's Hog Ranches of Wyoming is a well-documented, antecdotal account of a violent, harsh, and criminal side of Wyoming's territorial history. Focusing on small, underworld communities picaresquely known as "hog ranches," Brown describes these early Wyoming settlements as being "plentiful as prairie dog towns and just about as pesky" (p. 25), and discusses the means with which soldiers, gamblers, cowhands, teamsters, outlaws, and weary travelers slaked their over-powering thirst for sex, gambling, and liquor. In vivid terms Brown depicts these outposts as being ephemeral, squalid, and barren places which were often "nothing more than sod huts and cave-like sties carved into hillsides" (p. 25). They were, the author asserts, a form of rural enterprise that sprang up near army installations (of which Wyoming had more than twenty at the height of the Indian wars) after military and civilian officials banned the sale of liquor on the military compounds. Further, Brown writes that a very low and tough set of women inhabited these communities where, existing among the meanest of conditions,

"they dealt nightly with drunks, drifters, gamblers and gunfighters and were slapped around with fists and gun butts" (p. 30).

While Hog Ranches tells an easy-to-read, fastpaced, and intriguing tale of frontier conditions, its real value resides mostly in its implicit interpretation of one side of Wyoming's overall history. The prostitutes, pimps, clients, and others Brown discusses are but little more than one generation removed from Wyoming's mountain men who led equally rugged, untamed lives in a wilderness beyond America's more civilized society. As the inheritors of the West's lawless and isolated nature, the hog ranches' denizens become the personification of the frontier's need for ingenuity, hardy persistence, and stoic individualism which existed beyond society's more stable, orderly and permanent line of settlement with its well-established educational, religious, and governmental institutions. In an analytical sense, Brown's book describes in story form Wyoming's historical progression through a wilderness, frontier period of colonization that preceded the state's slow movement toward civilization.

Overall, Hog Ranches is a valuable addition to the growing and diverse collection of works on Wyoming history. In style it is reminiscent of Bill Bragg, Jr.'s writings, and its subject adds significantly to the understanding of Wyoming's complex history. Hopefully, this book is only one of many that Larry K. Brown will produce about the existence of conflict and disorderly conduct inherent in the state's frontier experiences.

Walter Jones Western Americana Division University of Utah Library

I See by Your Outfit: Historic Cowboy Gear of the Northern Plains. By Tom Lindmier and Steve Mount. Glendo, Wyoming: High Plains Press, 1996.175 pages. Illus., notes, glossary, bib., index. Paper, \$16.95.

What a pleasure it is to read a book in which the authors actually deliver what they promise, and do it artfully, to boot! In this thoughtfully illustrated and well-documented monograph, Wyoming natives Tom Lindmier and Steve Mount offer their readers chronological, topical, and highly detailed discussions of the northern plains cowboy, his clothing, riding gear, the horses' gear, and camp equipment as they evolved in the Cowboy State from 1870 to 1928. Since the Wyo-

ming cowpoke did not develop in a vacuum, cowboys from other areas are also examined.

More a pragmatic working man than a romanticized knight on horseback, the cowboy wore and used what was available and what he could afford. A good source of inexpensive clothing was the Army; as "soldiers were generally broke and always ready to sell their shirts and pants" (p. 32). Hats came mail order from Sears, Roebuck or Montgomery Ward, or were store-bought from places like Fort Laramie. John Stetson's offerings, especially the "Boss of the Plains," whose wearer could shape its crown and brim to suit himself, proved popular. The ten-gallon hat, that some of us tend to associate with "real" cowboys, was developed in Cheyenne by Max J. Meyers in 1925, manufactured by Stetson, and marketed as the Colonel McCoy. It was first produced for movie actor Tim McCoy, and then adopted by other Hollywood celluloid 'pokes, and by rodeo cowboys. By the 1920s, Wyoming cowboys were wearing the \$2-a-pair denim pants from Levi Strauss, which the previous generation eschewed as beneath their dignity, and deemed more appropriate garb for farmers.

Although mail order was all right for the working cowboy, it was not all right for his horse. In saddles and other gear, quality and craftsmanship were important. A reputable artisan could also customize a saddle for a client, a service absent, by necessity, through catalogues or in general stores.

The authors employ predominantly primary sources, and profusely illustrate their text with drawings by Lindmier, catalogue reproductions from private collections, and archival photographs from repositories such as the American Heritage Center (Laramie), Wyoming State Museum (Cheyenne), Wyoming Pioneer Memorial Museum (Douglas), Anna Miller Museum (Newcastle), Fremont County Pioneer Museum (Lander), and the Sweetwater County Historical Society (Green River). Lindmier and Mount remain blessedly focused, and do not go off into the meadow to explain, for example, why the era of the cowboy began after the Civil War, or discuss whether the horse-drawn roundup wagon made by Studebaker Brothers Manufacturing Company was the forerunner of a horseless wagon by the same name. These topics will have to wait for another day.

This is a fine volume, worth the time to digest it, and the money to purchase it.

Peg Tremper University of Wyoming



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